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THE CHURCH AND HUMANISM

Many potent forces were at work during the period of the Renaissance, but none have born more fruit in recent times than the revived interest in classical antiquity. It extended to every phase of ancient life: art, letters, philosophy and morals. With the fall of the Western Empire in the fifth century, there was a rapid decline of learning and culture. The rude invaders knew little and cared less for the culture of the Roman Empire. It was reserved for the Church to preserve the seeds of this culture which she alone possessed.

Monasticism, under the leadership of the Benedictines, began to spread in the West at this time. Their schools propagated the *trivium and quadrivium* which for many subsequent centuries formed the basis of a liberal education. The rapid spread of monastic and cathedral schools makes Ruskin call the name of St. Benedict the most important name in medieval history. The books used were compendia of the classics rather than the originals, and this is to be deplored. But we must acknowledge the debt of modern education to the curriculum of these early monastic schools, in which were kept alive the love and pursuit of learning, amidst the surrounding ignorance.

While culture and civilization were progressing in the south of Europe, the northern climes were about to receive the light of Christianity. About seventy years after the landing of St. Augustine in England, Canterbury received its seventh Archbishop. Under him and his companion Adrian, monastic schools were founded all over the British Isles. The knowledge they transmitted was similar to that of their sister institutions south of the Alps. Christianity took a firm hold on Ireland in the early part of the fifth century. With the coming of St. Pat-

rick monasteries were introduced and schools established. We notice in the Celtic institutions an ardent love for the classics, and an independence of thought which found their chief exponent in the intrepid John Scotus Erigena, who is the most interesting character in early medieval schools.

A blight now fell upon the intellectual life in the British Isles with the devastation wrought by the Danes. On the eve of their approach, Alcuin of York had been invited by King Charles the Great to leave his famous monastery, with its well equipped library, and enter upon a systematic restoration of letters in the Frankland. In 782 Alcuin took up his abode at Aachen, where he became head of the Palace School. He could count as his pupils men who afterwards became the leaders of thought in the ninth century. Under the influence of Alcuin, and by the legislation of Charles the Great, education became popular in the vast realm of the Roman Empire. Bishops were admonished to see to the education of their flocks. Monasteries and cathedrals had schools of elementary and higher education. In all a love of the classics was fostered. Otto the Great enlarged the culture of the German people in the tenth century.

Towards the end of the tenth century too we meet that versatile genius Gerbert, better known as Pope Sylvester II. He loved and studied Latin literature from a literary aspect. He shows us that even in those so-called "dark ages" a knowledge of the Latin classics was not unfrequently met among the learned. Latin authors then began to be studied in the original. At Paderborn in Westphalia, in the eleventh century, the curriculum included Virgil, Horace, Sallust, and Statius. In the twelfth century the list is increased by Terrence, Ovid, Lucan, Martial, Caesar, and Livy. But this revival of literary study met with a temporary check in the advent of scholasticism in the thirteenth century.

Scholasticism, by the subtleties of syllogistic reasoning, tried to reconcile faith and reason. The schoolmen aimed at proving theological truths by philosophical means. They regarded the matter more than the form of their thought, and under their manipulation, Latin degenerated into the jargon so frequently ridiculed by the humanists. Europe was now dotted with universities. Within their walls ancient literature was neglected

for the study of philosophy and theology. This was particularly true in France, Germany, and England during the thirteenth and fourteenth century. Except in Italy, the trivium held a subordinate place.

Scholastic philosophy had not thrived so well on Italian soil. For a whole century before Petrarch an increasing interest in letters may be noticed. Classical Latin had never been lost sight of in the West. But the case was different with Greek. A knowledge of ancient Greek was rare. Even in Italy, so close to the East, there were comparatively few who had an intelligent knowledge of Hellenistic literature. Modern Greek of course was known in Constantinople, but in the Byzantine Empire itself, an appreciation of classical Greek was dormant.

We must not regard the re-birth of learning as a sudden, phenomenal development in the intellectual life of the race. There are no gaps in the uninterrupted flow of human experience. The Renaissance inherited the vast intellectual treasures of the Middle Ages. At the end of the thirteenth century Dante gave us his immortal *Divina Commedia*, which laid the foundations of the Italian vernacular, and lent inspiration to Petrarch and Boccaccio. While humanism was merely a development of the learning of former times, it differed from it in that attention was now placed on the literary form of the ancient masters, and an effort was made to imitate them. Not only the form but the thought of the ancients was assimilated. Their standards of life, morals, and beauty were adopted. This it is which makes the striking difference between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Quite naturally Italy became the cradle of the new learning. Her cities were founded on classic soil. Her dialects were of Latin origin. And her present structures were but barbarian rudeness compared with the former beauty of her ancient creations. Those who looked beneath the surface, regarded the classics as the natural inheritance of the Italian people. That phase of the Renaissance which affected letters was called humanism because it appertained to those things which most closely touched humanity.

The humanistic movement in Italy may be divided into four periods. The *first* begins with Petrarch and includes the lives

and work of those men whom he personally influenced. It was an age of inspiration and discovery, when enthusiasm ran high and the classics were collected. The *second* is an age of arrangement and translation. The first great libraries were founded, the study of Greek was earnestly undertaken, and the Greek authors were put into Latin. At this time the leaders of the Renaissance were centered round Cosimo de' Medici at Florence, Alfonso the Magnanimous at Naples, and Nicholas V in Rome. The *third* period is the age of the Academies. Literary coteries were now formed. The most important were the Platonic Academy at Florence, that of Pontanus at Naples, Pomponius Laetus' Academy in Rome, and that of Aldus Manutius at Venice. Italian erudition during this period reached its maximum in Poliziano. The rapid spread of printing at this time caused the downfall of the humanists as a class. The *fourth* period witnessed a gradual decline of learning, when aesthetic and stylistic scholarship claimed the exclusive attention of the cultured. Bembo exercised great sway over the learned. The court of Leo X held the most brilliant assembly of literati in all Europe. Erudition in the real sense of the word was about to be translated north of the Alps, and for the historian, the revival of learning comes to a close in Italy.

While Petrarch lives in the minds of millions as the poet of Laura, only the student knows the debt which the intellectual world owes to him as a humanist. His life rounded out the first three quarters of the fourteenth century. In the days of his boyhood at Avignon he learned to admire Cicero. As time went on, he became saturated with the thought, life, and emotions of the Latin classics. He succeeded in making them better known and read. At the University of Padua he pointed out their beauties to the first humanists, and inaugurated a closer attention to the works of Cicero. He had only a meagre knowledge of Greek, although he tried to get teachers to instruct him. His chief influence on the Renaissance lies in the service he rendered by collecting manuscripts from all parts of Europe; in securing the establishment of humanistic studies in Padua; and in his writings, *De viris illustribus*, and the *Epistolae*.

His Latin letters were polished essays pleading for the cause of humanism. He wished the study of the classics to inaugu-

rate a larger mental life, giving a broader breadth of view to things human and divine. While a devout adherent of the Church of Rome, like his favorite St. Augustine, he recognized the uplifting influence of the old classic authors. He was egotistic and had an inordinate desire for fame. He gained the support not only of his pupils but of many wealthy leaders among the people, who were destined to be the chief means of propagating a love for the new intellectual activity. Petrarch was the first brilliant humanist, he was the father of that larger, broader erudition which was taking place in the intellectual life of the race, and running parallel with those other dynamic changes that were overthrowing long established customs in the life of the nations.

Petrarch's favored pupil Boccaccio was more fortunate than he in his knowledge of Greek. How anxious he was to master the Hellenic tongue will be understood when we remember that his first teacher was the Calabrian Leontius Pilatus, whose limited knowledge of the coveted language and repulsive habits made him anything but an agreeable teacher. However he was accepted, and occupied the chair of Greek in the University of Florence. If Italy was the teacher of the world, Florence was the teacher of Italy. Boccaccio did much for the classics by founding the new studies at Florence first, and then at other universities.

The real beginning of the revival of Greek in the West dates from the advent of Emmanuel Chrysoloras, a Greek from Constantinople. He came to Italy on diplomatic business. In 1397 he accepted the chair of Greek in the University of Florence, and at once became the leading professor of Greek in the West. Large numbers of students were attracted by him to Florence. Among his pupils were Guarino da Verona and Pier Paolo Vergerio. The latter sacrificed a professorship in the University of Padua to become his student. Guarino subsequently published the lectures of Chrysoloras on Greek grammar. For many years this was the only available text for the study of Greek.

Florence at this time was the intellectual center of Italy. It was not her university, but her citizens who opened the door to Chrysoloras, whose charming personality drew all hearts to the

new learning. Bruni, besides making translations of Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, and Plutarch, was an interested student of civil law. But he too fell under the spell of the popular instructor in Greek, and gave up his legal calling for the classics. Without hesitation, he affirms that Chrysoloras opened a new era in learning. Enthusiasm ran high in Florence. For many years it remained the center of Greek studies, although not neglecting Latin scholarship. Like most of the humanists, Chrysoloras did not confine his labors to one vicinity. Milan, Venice, Pavia, and probably Rome heard his lectures, and Padua had him as a guest. Everywhere he inspired respect not only for his literary worth but for the sterling integrity of his character, which was acknowledged even by the sarcastic, hypercritical humanists. In public and private life he was exemplary. While in Italy he embraced the Roman communion, and made efforts for the reconciliation between the churches of the East and the West.

The new activity inaugurated by Chrysoloras in Greek studies was carried on by many of his countrymen who flocked to Italy after the fall of Constantinople. But we must not make the common mistake of ascribing to these refugees the introduction of a systematic study of Greek in the West. The restoration of Greek learning had taken a firm root in Italy before the fall of the Byzantine capital. It was the demand for Greek scholars in Italy which drew them into the peninsula, where for many years they labored zealously for the propagation of Hellenism in the West.

Among these may be mentioned George of Trebizond, Theodorus Gaza, and Gemistos Plethon. It was owing to the influence of the last named that Cosimo de' Medici founded at Florence the Platonic Academy. About 1447 there came from Constantinople to Rome Demetrius Chalcondylas who made a name for himself by teaching Greek at Perugia. Reuchlin studied under John Argyropoulos, and Politian under Andronicus Callistus.

Latin scholarship was not at all neglected. Giovanni di Conversino da Ravenna was the most eminent Latinist of his time. He labored principally at Padua, although he went from city to city. He is the first example we have of the wandering human-

ist. He lectured on the Roman poets, but his favorilte author was Cicero. Among his pupils he counted Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona.

The open letters of this period are interesting as an evidence of the efforts made by the Italians at an imitation of the style of the ancients. These letters were on a variety of subjects, by the intellectual leaders of the day. They served to transmit knowledge, and many of them were brimful of satirical criticism not only of the ancients, but of both clerical and laic contemporaries. In this they reveal one of the chief characteristics of the intellectual life of the period. In their efforts to resuscitate the old, they condemned the present. Not without cause, it is true, but with little moderation, and with less discretion.

No more interesting character can be found among the second generation of humanists than Vittorino da Feltre. He was born in 1397, and during his early student life devoted himself to philosophy. Even in those days he supported himself by tutoring. After receiving the doctorate at the University of Padua, where he studied under Barrizza and Ravenna, he turned to mathematics with Pelacani da Parma for an instructor. He shortly excelled his master. After a five years' residence at Constantinople, Guarino da Verona returned to Italy. He was then considered the best Greek scholar on Italian soil. Vittorino with characteristic ardor studied Greek under him for eighteen months, and in exchange imparted to his teacher a better knowledge of Latin. They thus formed a friendship which lasted for life.

At Padua in 1422 Vittorino succeeded Barrizza in the university. At the same time he conducted in his own home a private school for a limited number of students, whose domestic life he directed also. Scarcely a year after he resigned his chair and went to Venice. In 1423 he began his great life work. Then it was that he was invited by the Marquis of Mantua to undertake the education of his three sons and little daughter. Vittorino accepted the invitation on the condition that he could conduct a school at the court and receive other students. Here it was that he set up the establishment with which his name is so familiarly connected.

All of his scholars were boarders whom he housed in a nearby

villa belonging to the estate. Its pleasant surrounding and the healthful spirit which prevailed caused him to call it *"Casa Jocosa,"* or "Pleasant House."

All his scholars were boarders. They were surrounded with all the comforts and joys of an ideal home, and included the children of the leading families of Mantua, sons of other humanists like Filelfo and Guarino, and the poor children of the neighborhood. The instruction given was of the new humanistic type and thoroughly Christian in spirit. Vittorino had little sympathy with the neopaganism of the period in which he lived. His curriculum embraced not only Latin and Greek, but mathematics, science, and philosophy. Neither was the physical development of his students neglected. Games and out-door sports in which he himself took part, were encouraged.

Vittorino de Feltre was a model Catholic layman. He supervised the moral training of his pupils, and strove to give them a harmonious mental, moral, and physical development. His great work as an educator was to adjust the new humanistic studies to a system of teaching, and to demonstrate that they could be taught without compromising Christian principles. He insisted on pleasant surroundings; made study attractive and profitable by his personal supervision. Unfortunately Vittorino left us no educational treatise or written account of his work. Our knowledge of him and his methods we owe to his admiring pupils.

With a love for the classics during this period came a desire to possess Greek and Latin manuscripts. Search for them was made in Constantinople and elsewhere. Some sought for love, while others made it a business. Among the eminent collectors of manuscripts at this time Nicolo de' Niccoli, a Florentine, was conspicuous. His luxurious home was a depository for the choicest relics of antiquity, marbles, coins, and gems. But most of his wealth was devoted to the acquisition of precious Greek and Latin manuscripts. Like many of his contemporaries in the early days of the Renaissance, he spent a great deal of time in transcribing manuscripts. In this way, much of his library was the result of his own labors. At his death he was able to give to Cosimo de' Medici eight hundred manuscripts, besides fifteen other treatises.

Cosimo de' Medici was the first of the great founders of libraries during this period. While in exile at Venice in 1433, he established the library of San Giorgio Maggiore. In 1441, when the new hall of the convent of San Marco at Florence was ready to receive them, he deposited four hundred of Niccoli's volumes there. The remainder, with his own collection, formed the nucleus of the Medicean library. When the new convent at Fiesole was built, he provided the library by giving a commission to Vespasiano, who set forty-five copyists to work. In twenty-two months they were able to turn out two hundred manuscripts. This shows to what an extent the copying of manuscripts had grown as a business.

From the earliest times the Popes had aimed at collecting a library. Pope Zacharias, who reigned in the first half of the eighth century enriched the already existing Papal collection with his own precious Greek manuscripts. They were accommodated in the Lateran, and during the exile in Avignon were transferred there. At the close of the Great Schism, they were returned to Rome, and placed in the Vatican. The Schism was closed by the unanimous election to the papacy of Martin V at the Council of Constance in 1417. After a short stay at Constance, Berne, Geneva, Mantua, and Florence, the Pope returned to Rome in 1420. He found the city in ruins. At once he began to re-establish order. For this he engaged masters of the Tuscan school, and laid the foundations of the Roman Renaissance.

The conciliar movement gave a forcible impulse to humanism. "The Council of Constance," says Voight, "inaugurates a new epoch in the history of the search throughout Europe for manuscripts, while the impetus given for the exchange of thought between different nations by the two great synods of Basle and Constance can not be exaggerated. The dawn of humanism north of the Alps dates from this period."

Among the papal secretaries at the Council of Constance were many humanists. The most remarkable of them were the learned Greek Chrysoloras, Lionardi Bruni, and Poggio. The eminent jurist Vergerio and Bartolomeo da Montepulciano began with Poggio a search for manuscripts. They delved into the monastic libraries of Reichenau, Weingarten and St. Gall, where they found many precious memorials of antiquity.

It was Eugenius IV who placed at the disposal of humanism the vast erudition of Bessarion. He, more than any other man, made the real Aristotle known in the West. His translations of Xenephon and Aristotle gave the exact thought of the Stagyrite to scholars. Bologna owes to Bessarion the restoration of her famous university. In Rome under Pius II, he won the title of *"literum patronus."* Eugenius IV paid some attention to the Vatican Library, but it was left for his successor, the fifth Nicholas, to become virtually its founder.

Nicholas V, elected on March 6, 1447, was the first humanist to ascend the papal throne. For two years he had been tutor to the family of Palla de' Strozzi, "the Nestor of the learned Florentine aristocracy." To them he owed the germ of that enthusiasm for learning which distinguished him in after life. His knowledge of Greek made him very useful to the Church. As Thomas Parentucelli, he became acquainted with the most learned members of the papal court. With such celebrated men as Poggio, Leonardo Aretino, Mananetti, Aurispa, Marsupini, and Gaspar of Bologna, he established an academy. They usually met for debate in a retired nook of Aretino's palace at Constance, while the prelates were holding the Council.

Vespasiano tells us that Parentucelli was a real bibliomaniac, and that in spite of his slender means, he always kept a number of copyists employed in translating rare manuscripts, which were frequently unearthed by his own assiduous searching. His diligence rescued from obscurity many a lost author. It was he who taught Cosimo de' Medici how to classify the precious manuscripts of his library of St. Mark. This served as a criterion in the great libraries of the Abbey of Fiesole, of Montefeltro, at Urbino, and of Alexander Sforza at Pesaro.

With the accession of Nicholas V a new spirit entered the papacy. He was a universal patron of art, but literature felt his influence most. The humanists he welcomed as friends to the Vatican. So enamored of the new learning was he that he willingly overlooked the irregularities of their private lives. He accepted Poggio's dedication of his work in which Eugenius IV is denounced as a hypocrite. The blasphemous Valla he made a papal secretary. To deserving scholars he was ever generous. His court presented more than one anomaly. In the Vatican he

set up a large establishment where the classics were translated, that all might become familiar with at least the matter of these masterpieces. Macaulay says: "No department of literature owes so much to him as history. By him were introduced to the knowledge of western Europe two great unrivalled models of historical composition, the work of Herodotus and the work of Thucydides. By him too our ancestors were first made acquainted with the graceful and lucid simplicity of Xenophon and with the manly good sense of Polybius."

But the great achievement of his pontificate was the foundation of the Vatican library. His agents ransacked the libraries of Europe. Precious manuscripts which would have been eaten by the moths, or destroyed in the furnace, were rescued and safely housed in the sumptuous Vatican library. In this way he accommodated about five thousand volumes at a cost of more than forty thousand scudi.

"It was his greatest delight to walk about his library," says Pastor, "arranging the books and glancing through their pages, admiring their handsome bindings, and taking pleasure in contemplating his own arms stamped on those that had been dedicated to him, and dwelling in thought on the gratitude that future generations of scholars would entertain toward their benefactor."

An entirely different type of man occupied the chair of Peter in the person of Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini, who became pope in 1458. After a dissolute life, during which he indulged both his passions and his love of study, he went to Florence, where he was attracted by the fame of Filelfo. Here he spent two years in studying poetry and the classics. He was an orator, poet, historian, and manuscript collector. In the midst of his many cares, he found time for literary activity.

As Paul II he was not opposed to humanistic studies, for he protected universities, encouraged the art of printing, and was himself the collector of works of ancient art. His suppression of the Roman Academy is justified by the moral degeneracy and pagan attitude of mind which it fostered. In the days of Paul II there lived the second generation of humanists. Their morals were more lax and their attitude toward the Church was less loyal than their more conservative forefathers. "Your

pontificate, most glorious already," said Bussie when addressing the pope, "will never be forgotten because the art of printing has been taken up to your throne."

In the history of intellectual culture, the name of Sixtus IV must ever stand beside the name of Nicholas V, Julius II, and Leo X. His zeal for the Vatican library is shown by the fact that under him it contained three times as many volumes as it did in the time of his predecessors. Not only did he collect books, but he aimed at housing them sumptuously. He separated the documents from the manuscripts and the archives. A special place, called the Bibliotheca Secreta, was prepared in which the documents were preserved in walnut cases. "The whole room was wainscoted, and the free space on the walls above adorned with frescoes in chiaroscure. This costly undertaking must have been completed in the year 1480." The Vatican library consisted of three halls beautifully decorated. Exquisite glass windows softened the light in the comfortably heated rooms. Although the manuscripts were chained, they were freely lent out, several volumes being entrusted to the same person.

Sixtus IV fully realized the importance of the Renaissance. He knew the humanists were necessary for the papal court. He gathered about him the most cultured men of the age, among them being John Argyropulos.

Julius II was not a scholar. Therefore we need not be surprised that he did more for art than for letters.

The Renaissance reached its climax in Rome under Leo X, the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. At the age of thirty-eight he ascended the papal throne. A true Medicean, he was highly cultivated, keenly susceptible to the beautiful, and a polished orator. In his expenditures to advance humanism he was extravagant. The fame of Leo X is due to the impetus he gave to science, art, and literature. Under him, Rome became the center of culture. "From all parts," wrote Cardinal Riario to Erasmus in 1515, "men of letters are hurrying to the eternal city, their common country, their support, and their patroness." He made Bembo and Sadoleto his secretaries because he wished to have all documents issuing from the Holy See not inferior to the literature emanating from other courts in Europe.

About one hundred and seventy years elapsed between Petrarch and Leo X. In that time, by unceasing labors, the gulf had been spanned between medieval and modern thought. The intellectual treasures of Greece and Rome were restored to the West. The Italian Renaissance revived high standards in poetry and prose, and thus benefited not only classical studies but modern literary style as well. It sowed the seeds of erudition. It gave the impetus to liberal literary study. By it there was diffused throughout the civilized world a new spirit of intellectual freedom combined with a craving for knowledge, the results of which are palpably evident in our own days.

The sack of Rome in May, 1527, and the invention of the art of printing were the chief causes of the decline of the Renaissance in Italy. But long before this the new learning had taken root across the Alps. That universal genius Erasmus tells us that it was Rudolf Agricola who was "The first to bring from Italy some breath of a better culture." Erasmus resembled Petrarch in his attitude toward humanism, only he had a broader outlook than his Italian predecessor. For the Italian, humanism meant individual culture. For Erasmus it served a greater end. He regarded it as a means for dissipating the ignorance of the time, to which he ascribed many of the existing evils. The civilizing influence of humanism he thought would be a powerful factor for raising the low morals of the day, and placing the people on a higher intellectual plane. This influence did not effect the change so rapidly as he wished, but he himself did much to bring about his cherished ideals.

Erasmus was born in Rotterdam about 1466. In the days of Politian, when the Italian Renaissance was declining, he reached maturity. While a student at Deventer, he came under the influence of Agricola. He is one of the many illustrious pupils of the Brothers of the Common Life. In 1488 he became an Augustinian, and was ordained priest in 1492. It was then he wrote his *"De contemptu mundi,"* in which, as Woodward says, he left no record of the discontent of which he later complained.

By the bishop of Cambrai Erasmus was dispensed from his cloistral obligations, because the bishop, who highly appreciated his linguistic talents, wished to make him his secretary. He was sent to Paris to study theology. While there, he developed

an antipathy for scholasticism and the educational methods of the university. He devoted his time chiefly to the classics. He had private students in Latin. Among them were some young Englishmen who later proved useful friends to him. It was in the company of one of these, Lord Mountjoy, that he visited England in 1499, and made the acquaintance of More, Colet, and Warham. It was probably on the advice of Colet that he devoted himself to the assiduous study of Holy Scripture and historical theology. Like most of the humanists, Erasmus was a wanderer. In Paris, shortly after his first visit to England, he published his *Adagia*, selections from the classics. In 1502 he was at Louvain, where he was offered a lectureship. This he refused in order to have leisure to write and study. At Turin he received the doctorate in theology. He stayed almost a year at Bologna. To Venice he was invited by Aldus Mantius, one of the foremost printers of Europe. This firm brought out another edition of the *Adagia*. While in Venice, Erasmus had access to the best native Greek scholars in Italy. He also profited by his intimate relations with Aldus. His well-known journey to Rome took place in 1509 where he was highly pleased by a reception accorded to him by the cardinals. Erasmus was essentially an educator. His five years residence in England from 1509 until 1514 mark the most productive period of his literary career from an educational point of view. During this sojourn in England he taught Greek privately, and was made a professor at Cambridge. Then appeared *Moriae Encomium*, a bitter satire on the times, and one of the most widely read books of the day. For Colet, who was organizing St. Paul's school, he wrote *De ratione studii* and *De copia rerum et verborum*, on Latin composition. For the head master, Lily, he also revised the elementary Latin book. This work went through many editions in the lifetime of Erasmus. Indeed it still does service in a modified form in the present Eton Latin grammar. He also translated into Latin the Greek grammar of Theodore Gaza.

The Archduke Charles, later Charles V, made Erasmus one of his councilors at a fixed salary. This was in 1516, and from that time on he was eagerly sought by flattering patrons to take up his abode in Paris and Vienna, and again in England. But he wished to be free for travel and literary work. Henceforth

he made his home in Basle, where he found leisure to write and publish his books. Froben, one of the celebrated printers and publishers of the day, gave to his productions a wide circulation. In an effort to seek Catholic surroundings, and avoid the violence of the reformers, Erasmus went for a short time to Freiburg, Germany. But Basle was the scene of his last labors. Here he published the *Colloquies*, a book supposed to supply formulae for elegant conversational style. It was widely read in spite of its condemnation by the university of Paris. At Basle he published his treatise on *Christian Matrimony*, which contains a chapter on the education of children. In 1529 appeared his treatise *On the Liberal Education of Children from Their Earliest Years*. This is his best known educational work.

By his bitter criticism of the Church, Erasmus prepared the way for the so-called reformers. In his commentaries on the New Testament, he advocated the right of private judgment and expressed views contrary to the teaching of the Church. With a scholar's love of peace, he advocated a compromise with Luther. By many he is accused of being a hypocrite. In spite of the shortcomings in his character, and they are many, his position as a humanist is unchallenged. He may well be taken as the exponent of the literary spirit of the Renaissance. He contributed to the furtherance of humanism by editing many of the ancient classic and patristic writings. Erasmus was a thorough humanist in that he regarded the classics as the basis of a liberal education. In antiquity he found much besides letters which he would fain restore to the world of his own days. His ideal involved "a universal language—Latin, a universal church, a uniform standard of culture, and perpetual peace." He refused to learn Italian and English because of his dislike for the vernaculars. Erasmus diffused throughout Europe the Renaissance which originated in Italy. Under his manipulation, it brought forth a richer harvest, not only in education, but in those all-embracing influences which mould the whole of human life.

Johann Müller, who died in 1476, was among the German students who received the new learning at various Italian centers. He was the first to use humanism as an aid to science. He learned Greek under Cardinal Bessarion. Among other scien-

tific treatises he translated the works of Ptolmey into Latin. He settled at Nurnberg in 1471, and there founded an observatory. Several improvements in practical astronomy are attributable to him. His *Ephemerides* were embryonic nautical almanacs, which greatly helped the Spanish and Portugese explorers of the period in their ventures into unknown waters.

Rudolf Agricola was another German humanist. In 1476 he was in Ferrara, and heard the Greek lectures of Gaza. He spent at least seven years in Italy. On his return to the North, he was proficient in Greek, Latin, Italian, and French. Erasmus has told us of the intellectual inactivity in the North at this time. It is to Agricola, and such as he, that we owe the incorporation of classical studies into German education. He accepted a professorship at Heidelberg, where he was an opponent of scholasticism. His most famous pedagogical work is *On the Regulation of Study*. It influenced German education, especially the schools of the Brothers of the Common Life.

Perhaps no author had so strong a share in the shaping of German opinion toward humanism as the celebrated Johann Reuchlin. Besides having a liberal knowledge of Greek and Latin, which he learned in France and Italy, he was a close student of Hebrew, and collected many precious manuscripts. Like Picodella Mirandola, he approached the Cabbala, the medieval system of Jewish theosophy, through neoplatonism. He was a fervid Hebrew scholar. This enthusiasm brought him into conflict with the converted Jew Pfefferkorn, who wished all Hebrew books except the Bible to be suppressed. Reuchlin disagreed, in spite of the antagonistic attitude of the Dominicans. The case was referred to Rome, and decided in favor of Reuchlin. But it brought forth in the *Epistolae Obscurorum Vivorum* of Ulrich von Hutten deeper obloquy and keener ridicule than had yet fallen from humanistic pens against their opponents.

The vindication of Reuchlin gave an added impulse to the new learning. Greek and Hebrew studies were undertaken with renewed vigor, while Biblical criticism and theology received much attention.

Early Dutch humanism aimed at classifying, arranging, and criticising material accumulated by former labors. It was distinguished by close thinking and elegance of style. Holland

gave to the humanists Daniel Heinsius, who edited the Greek authors, and was proficient in Latin prose and verse. Spanish influence had delayed for long the growth of humanism in the Low Countries, but once it began to flourish, its growth was unusual. The University of Leyden became the chief center of learning.

Prominent among those who fostered the new learning north of the Alps was Melanchthon. Although he played a large part in the theological controversies of his day, he did contribute to the propagation of humanism. He was a nephew of Reuchlin, who helped him to acquire a liberal education, and who had little sympathy with his attitude toward the Church of Rome. Owing to the influence of his uncle, at the age of twenty-one, Melanchthon was given the chair of Greek in the University of Wittenberg. At once he began to lecture on Homer and the Pauline Epistle to Titus. In his "Discourse on Reforming the Studies of Youth," he pleaded for the classics as the basis of a broad education, in opposition to the scholastics. Under his influence, Luther studied Greek. He produced many of the popular school books of his day. He wrote comments on various Greek and Latin authors, and compiled Latin versions of the Greek classics. His great educational work was the improvement of humanistic studies in Teutonic lands.

The wars which Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I carried on with Italy did much to establish Italian art, literature, and standards of beauty throughout France. Constant intercourse between the two nations broadened commerce. Italian merchants and artists settled in France. Italian ecclesiastics under the Medici popes had a powerful influence, while the universal correspondence of scholars at this time helped to spread the new learning among the French. The marriage of the princess Renée, daughter of Louis XII, with the Duke of Ferrara and that of Catherine de' Medici with the dauphin, strengthened the bond between France and Italy.

It must be remembered that the foundation of French character and language is Latin. This helps to account for the facility with which France received the influences of the Italian Renaissance. Through Catherine de Medici, the daughter of the Florentine Lorenzo, Italian manners pervaded the French

court. But as early as 1458, Gregory Tifernas, an Italian of Greek ancestry, received the chair of Greek in the University of Paris. Lascaris lectured at Paris during the reign of Charles VIII. He continued the work under Louis XII and Francis I. He directed the foundation of the library at Fontainebleau.

Alexander came to Paris in 1508, and succeeded in winning the rectorship of the university. We may call him the first scholar who gave a decided impulse to philological subjects in France. The art of printing furthered at this time the spread of humanistic studies in France and the North generally. Hence in these countries the work of the copyist was not so prominent as it was in Italy.

Guillaume Bude should be considered the most distinguished of the French humanists. At first he studied law at Orleans, but then turned to letters. "He taught himself Greek and read widely in Latin." He went to Rome on diplomatic service during the reigns of Julius II and Leo X. His work on Roman coinage, *De asse et partibus ejus*, which he was nine years preparing, gained for him universal reputation for learning. His fame as the chief Greek scholar in Europe was won by his *Commentarii linguae graecae*. It is a dictionary, criticism, and syntax, all in one. His views on classical learning are set forth in *De studio literarum recte et commode instituendo*. At his suggestion Francis I founded the Corporation for Royal Readers, to foster the study of the classics and Hebrew. It afterwards developed into the Collège de France.

It is interesting to note the French attitude toward the Renaissance. The Italians, with characteristic enthusiasm, completely absorbed the classic spirit of antiquity. It resulted in a reproduction of the original. While the French regarded it with sympathy, they adopted it with reserve, as similating only that which suited French genius. In this way, they evolved a new production, rather than an imitation of the old type. In France, as elsewhere, Renaissance culture did not lead to popular education. It gave birth to an aristocracy of erudition.

The Renaissance movement reached England somewhat later than France. It was received with that reserve native to the Anglo-Saxon. Only its intellectual phase was assimilated into British life and customs. Sellyng, a Canterbury monk, went to

Bologna, where he studied Greek, and became a doctor. On his return he opened a Greek class near the Abbey. Then he took his best pupil, Thomas Linacre, returned to Italy, and left him in the hands of Politian. Linacre was More's tutor. "Thus we have a clear view of the torch of the Renaissance passing from hand to hand, from the master of Giovanni de' Medici to the master of Thomas More."

With Linacre may also be grouped William Grocyn and William Latimer. Both studied in Italy and taught Greek at Oxford. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, was a thorough humanist. After pursuing his studies in France and Italy, he founded St. Paul's School, London. Because of his curriculum and teaching staff, he merits a first place among the promoters of humanism in England.

Erasmus gave Greek its initial impulse at Cambridge. In 1519 Richard Croke was appointed professor of Greek at the university, and was succeeded by Sir Thomas Smith, who lectured with great success. About 1535 Roger Ascham could state that Demosthenes was as familiar as Cicero and that there were more copies of Isocrates than of Terrence. In about twenty years great progress had been made in the study of the classics. Toward 1535 Smith began to teach the Erasmian method of Greek pronunciation. This was the use of the Attic pronunciation rather than that of the modern Greek, which was used by scholars up to the time of Erasmus.

In the sixteenth century, English humanism made progress. There were many able English scholars, but few eminent names among them. Scotland had her George Buchanan, but England had to wait for a consummate classical scholar until the seventeenth century. He came in the person of Richard Bentley. The English press gave forth but few books which advanced Greek and Latin learning. But the English became acquainted with the spirit of the Renaissance in other ways. English versions of the classics became accessible. Chapman's *Homer*, Phaer's *Virgil* and North's *Plutarch* obtained a wider reading than in the class room. Even Italian authors were found in English garb.

Humanism was brought into the Iberian peninsula by a few students who visited Italy in the fifteenth century. Arias Bar-

bosa was a pupil under Politian. His contemporary, Antonio Lebrixa, after ten years in Italy, lectured on the classics at the universities of Salamanca, Seville, and Alcala. He had many distinguished pupils, and in the early part of the sixteenth century there was every reason to hope that humanism would thrive in Spain. But under the rule of Charles V, there was a reaction against the humanistic studies. The Spanish humanists had after that but little influence at large. They were groups of cultured men who succeeded in combating among themselves the opposition of their opponents.

Without the Renaissance, succeeding generations would have been poor indeed. Italy, in a spirit of patriotism which found expression in a revival of the classics, placed at the disposal of the world those creations of the Greek and Latin mind which have never been equalled for beauty of matter and form. Works they were which Christianity had once loved and lost a while. Italy returned them in a resuscitated form. On the ruins of the past, the various countries into which the Renaissance was introduced, built according to national characteristics, a new structure of strength and beauty. On the foundations of classic Greek and Latin were erected the great vernaculars of modern times. In Italy Politian in his *Orfeo* gave us the first Italian drama. Cervantes enriched the Spanish, Rabelais the French, and Shakespeare the English language. A capacity for broader culture in every form is the great inheritance bequeathed to us by the humanists.

The intellectual activity of the Renaissance was not confined exclusively to profane learning. As early as the thirteenth century in England, Roger Bacon and Robert Grosseteste appreciated the scientific needs of the Church at their time. Grosseteste possessed Greek books, and gave to the world many Latin versions of patristic documents. The Epistles of St. Ignatius, the works of Dionysius the Aereopagite, and versions of St. John Damacene form part of his contribution to sacred literature. Although his principal interest was in Greek, Hebrew was not unknown to him. From the days of Augustine of Canterbury to those of Lanfranc, and from Anselm to Erasmus, the English mind had been attracted to the study of Holy Scripture.

In the second half of the thirteenth century was begun in

England a literal translation from Hebrew into Latin of the Old Testament. The same can not be said at this time for Italy. During the early days of the Renaissance, Italian activity was devoted principally to the revival of the pagan classics. But when the great libraries began to be formed, collectors enriched them with many treasures of sacred literature. The Vatican library, from the days of Nicholas V, was unequalled in these possessions. With personal contact with the volumes, came the desire to know Hebrew, and a critical study of the originals.

This was particularly true in Germany, where the Teutonic mind seemed to be naturally drawn to critical theology. To Erasmus we owe the first Greek New Testament. This was the result of his study of Hebrew. It marked an era in the Christian revival. It preceded by a few years that monument to zeal and learning which was bequeathed to Christianity by Cardinal Ximenes in his Polyglot version of the Holy Scriptures.

This work was carried on at the expense of Ximenes, and completed only after fifteen years of labor. When finished, it was in six volumes. Nine of the most eminent scholars of the day were employed on it. They had at their disposal the collections of the various libraries of Europe. It was the first successful attempt at a polyglot version of the Holy Scripture, and even by its very errors, it facilitated the execution of later and more perfect works of the kind.

Its prosecution was surrounded by what seemed at first to be insuperable difficulties because of the state of printing at this time. The art was in its infancy. Neither in Spain nor in any part of Europe could there be found types in the oriental characters. The indefatigable Ximenes however, imported artists from Germany, and, in his own foundries at Alcala, had types cast for the various languages required.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, John Gutenberg of Mayence, invented the art of printing with movable types. "This invention," says a great historian, "the mightiest and most important of civilization, next to the art of writing, gave as it were wings to the human mind." In 1474 printing was introduced into England by William Caxton. Everywhere and under all circumstances, the Church was anxious to encourage the new art.

As early as 1500 there were one thousand printers in Germany. The art of typography spread with lightning rapidity. Italy, France, England, Spain and the Low Countries soon boasted of their printing establishments. The monks and clergy were their best patrons. Printing presses were set up in the monasteries, and the art took the place of transcription. The products of the printing presses were chiefly owing to the exertions of the clergy. In the beginning, the whole supply aimed at fulfilling their demands.

The Brothers of the Common Life had large establishments at Zutphen, Zwolle, and Deventer. By the year 1500, the *Imitation of Christ* had passed through fifty-nine editions, with one thousand copies in an edition.

German printers came to Rome in 1467. They established their presses in the Massini Palace, near the German national hospice. Their first publication was *The Letters of Cicero to His Friends*. During the next few years this was followed by St. Augustine's *City of God*. The Holy Scriptures, the works of St. Jerome, Cyprian's Letters, the *Catena* of St. Thomas, Caesar, Virgil, Ovid, Pliny, Quintillian, Seutonius, Gellius, and Apulius. The Roman types were not so fine as the older ones at Subiaco which had been used there as early as 1465. The Roman corrector or editor was Bussi. The patronage of the pope, and his generosity in allowing Bussi to use the precious manuscripts in the Vatican library greatly aided his efforts. When Bishop Campano became corrector in Halm's establishment, scientific textual criticism had its birth.

It is difficult to estimate the service done for the new learning by the invention of the art of printing. True, such an art was bound to be found when it was needed. Human genius usually discovers mechanisms and devices to satisfy human needs at the opportune time. But that does not diminish our debt to the little group of Mayence printers who, in the middle of that wonderful fifteenth century, devised a means by which to perpetuate the intellectual culture of the Renaissance.

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ERASMUS, THE SORBONNE AND THE INDEX*

It is clear that the Holy See, towards the close of the Council of Trent, was far less favorable to Erasmus's works than in the earlier half of the century, and the wide patronage which the Popes of the Renaissance gave to literature of all kinds, except the positively heretical or depraved, was greatly curtailed. This is easily explained, less by an increase of what is popularly called *bigotry* than by the necessity of reform in morals and the insistence on a greater austerity of life and manners. Julius II, Leo X, even Clement VIII and Paul III had not realised what the Revolt against the See of St. Peter was destined to become. By the middle of the century the situation demanded a severe measures. Great losses had been sustained; much, indeed, England, Scotland and a large part of North Europe, was irreparable; but still more, the Habsburg crown lands, Switzerland and even France, was in the balance and could be and, ultimately, was saved for the Church by the Counter Reformation. Those engaged in this fateful struggle, such as Blessed P. Carisius and Blessed R. Bellarmine, could not regard favourably the indiscriminate circulation of writings which seemed to be, if not exactly a hindrance to the great work, at least frivolous and unsuited to the seriousness of the times. This the Fathers at Trent thought and this view the Pope himself supported.

The Sorbonne, which had an unusually keen nose for heresy, began the trouble during Erasmus's life, but this was not actually the first act of hostility. Erasmus's special aversion, Egmond the Carmelite, found in the *Colloquies* four heresies, next, Pighius[1] thought that all Luther was less dangerous than this most non-Christian book and finally Anton Zugler, a Benedictine, said that their very charm rendered them a most insidious poison. In 1526 the Sorbonne *en assemblée* decided that in the *colloquies* were many erroneous, scandalous and impious things but blamed it rather as a pagan than as a heretical work. To read it was

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*This paper is a reply to certain criticisms made of Mr. Wilkinson's article published recently in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. (Ed.).

[1] Albert Pigghe, doctor of Louvain, strong defender of Papal rights, born at Kempen + Ubrecht.

forbidden. Nöel Beda and S. Sutor[2] were Erasmus's chief antagonists. The faculty of theology was not content to stop there but *se pourvoyait en parlement* for the suppression of the naughty thing throughout the kingdom—*corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia prava*—, the Sorbonne showed more wit than that august but pedantic body were wont.

The action of the Parlement cannot be traced but Francis I intervened. In a letter of April 1526, from Amboise, the King wrote: *Et parce que nous sommes duement acertenés qu' indifférément lad: Faculté et leurs suppôts érivent contre un chacun en dénigrant leur honneur état et renommée, comme ont fait contre Erasme.....Nous vous commandons que mandiez incontinant ceux de lad: faculté qu'ilz n'ayent en général ni en particulièr à écrire et imprimer choses qu' elles n'ayent premièrement été vues et approuvées par vous ou vos commis et en pleine cour délibérés. à Mrs, Mrs. les gens tenants la cour du parlement de paris.*

Nevertheless, the Sorbonne was not to be restrained inside its own *ressort*, so it proposed that its censure should be approved by the *corps de l' Université*. The faculties of Law and Medicine agreed with that of Theology but the arts were divided. The French nation was for condemnation, the German against, whilst Normandy and Picardy opined that Erasmus should be furnished with a list of the supposed errors and be asked to reform them himself. Erasmus always expressed his readiness both to the Cardinal of York and the Bishop of Loncoln to amend anything which was really erroneous and not merely *minutious;* on the principle, one supposes of the tag *de minimis*. He subsequently disavowed under three heads some statements which were attributed to him.

In 1528, during a provincial council held at Sens, the chancelor of France, Archbishop Duprat's, remarks, *des hérésies que les*

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[2] Beda was principal of the College of Montaigue and Syndic of the Sorbonne very zealous for the faith but not always according to learning or moderation. Du Boulay remarks that he was expelled from Paris owing to his audacious language which hinted that Francis I was a heretic: recalled, he continued his ways and was ordered to confine himself in Mont St. Michel where he died.

Sutor was Pierre le Couturier of Le Mans, doctor of the Sorbonne. He became a Carthusian: he was not a good scholar and misunderstood Erasmus but was a pious if difficult man. + 1537.

hommes pervers glissent dans les colloques familiers, may be an allusion to Erasmus, and during the same year the Rector of the University affixed a decree at the cross roads, within the *ressort* of the University, which forbade the reading of the *Colloquies* in the classes.

During the earlier sessions at Trent some of the Cardinals and Prelates suggested to Paul III that he should start his reformation by forbidding the *Colloquies* to schools: this was not done, but the idea filled Melanchthon with a sense of weariness.[3] At a later period the *Colloquies* were condemned and put on the Index. Neither the censure of the Sorbonne nor that of the Inquisition seem ever to have been taken *au pied de la lettre* except as so far as concerned students, and students in those days were boys. In the middle of the next century Nicolas Mercier,[4] the Vice Principal of the College of Navarre, when engaged in the revision of the *Colloquies* for the use of the University was not required to suppress the two propositions originally condemned by the Inquisition because Erasmus's apology was ample and well known. The Vice Principal, in his preface, wrote that the work being amusing as well as instructive was most suitable for the young; as to the matter which had been withdrawn in deference to the censor he was only following the wishes of Erasmus, whose secretary, Cannius,[5] had already retouched the *Colloquies* just prior to the scholar's death.

Let us glance at the *Adagia*. These were received with acclamation, but in them a certain temerity is clear and most of the theologians mistrusted them from the first. Paul IV put them on the Index. However, later on in the sessions at Trent the Fathers of the Council, recognizing their merits, desired a suitable version and gave the revision to Paolo Manuzio, then head of the famous Aldine Press; he died and the work was finished by

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[3] Melanchthon to Camerarius, l. 205. Camerarius was Joachim Liebhard born at Bamberg 1500. He, with Melanchthon, was responsible for the Confession of Augsburg.

[4] Mercier, born at Poissy + 1657, was one of the best humanists of his day and *protégé* of Alphonse de Richelieu, Archbishop of Lyon, brother of the famous Cardinal.

[5] Nicholaus de Hondt born at Amsterdam. A particular intimate of Erasmus whom he much helped in the Greek tests. He entered the Convent of St. Visula, Amsterdam, and died priest at Sparnonde 1555.

Aldo the younger.[6] This edition printed at Florence was offered by him to Gregory XIII, 1575, who approved its issue.

It is time to consider the editions of the Fathers which Erasmus undoubtedly regarded as his most important works, and especially his St. Jerome, 1516 and 1524. At first sight the condemnation of this work, when we consider the names of those who encouraged Erasmus to undertake its edition, Leo X, Warham and Caraffa, who afterwards as Paul IV condemned it, seems strange: but we must remember that Erasmus's scholarship was not perfect and his claim to have reconstituted the text where faulty and to have separated the authentic from the spurious could hardly be made good. Many of his copious comments were at least doubtful, and Erasmus had a habit of not giving any authority for what he did beyond his own idea of what his author must have intended. He also greatly exaggerated in the statement that St. Jerome alone of the Latins was worthy of the name of theologian. Erasmus's was the first complete St. Jerome and had many merits, but, such was the scholar's prestige, there was a real danger of people regarding his work as faultless: moreover many besides him, Reuchlin, Conan of Nürnberg O. P., Beatus Rhenanus and the Amorsbachs had a large share in the work. Marianus Victorius,[7] in his edition's preface, professes to have found 1500 passages in which Erasmus made a mess and states that the comments were full of mistakes. Joseph Scaliger considers this censure to be extreme but admits that Erasmus was often risky in his emendations and that he had corrupted some of the passages.

At St. Cyprian, Erasmus had worked very hard and rendered great services in pioneer work and his edition is far more complete than any previous;[8] but it is amazing that he should have attributed to St. Cyprian a work, *De duplice martyrio ad Fortu-*

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[6] Adagia optimorum utriusque linguae scriptorum omnia, quaeque ad sunc usque diem exierunt P. M. studio atque industria, doctissimorum theologorum consilio atque ope ab omnibus mendis vindicata, quae pium et veritatis Catholicae studiorum lectorem poterant offendere. Flor. ap. Juntas 1575. But some think, and amongst them Muretus, that Aldo only looked over the sheets which had already been revised by G. Richiulli, Archbishop of Reggio. Antoine Muret of the Limousin + Rome 1583.

[7] M. Vettori or Vittoris. Epistolae S. Hieronymi. Romae, 1566.

[8] Dom P. Maran, in the preface to the Baluze edition, says that Erasmus had rendered very great service to all who value letters and ecclesiastical history. Paris, 1726.

natum, which is manifestly not of the period. It is almost inconceivable that Erasmus should have been taken in and even, which is equally unthinkable, supposing him to have been an intentional deceiver, he would not have done so bad a piece of forgery. The whole matter is mysterious but helps us to realise that the Inquisition did not censure Erasmus' works for no reason. This edition appeared 1519-20 and was dedicated to Cardinal Pucci.

Erasmus's edition of St. Hilary, 1523, was dedicated to the Archbishop of Palermo. The introduction is very long, interesting and characteristic, but contains many indiscreet things; the Benedictine edition has a severe critic on it whilst recognizing its merits in other respects.

The edition of St. Irenaeus, 1526, was dedicated to Bernard de Cles, Bishop of Trent, one of Erasmus's firmest supporters. It is in the main very good work, but Erasmus was under the impression that St. Irenaeus wrote in Latin. It is to be observed that these, with the editions of St. Ambrose and St. Augustin, were put on the Index by reason of their comments and doubtful emendations.

These few instances clearly prove the need which there was for prudence and the danger of allowing the learned world to commit itself without reserve to Erasmus's version. If he could have made the mistakes in fact, such as we have seen, what guarantee was there that his theories about the meaning of these Fathers were necessarily sound? Erasmus was a great scholar, a great pioneer of modern learning, but he had his limitations, the limitations of knowledge and skill which were necessarily imposed on him by the conditions of scholarship and of history in that century. He was in fact extraordinarily successful, with all his inaccuracies and waywardness. We need not hesitate to say, with Colet, that the name of Erasmus is imperishable; but the unprejudiced will not on that account charge the Church with obscurantism for the check which was imposed on the promiscuous circulation of his works.

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HUGO GROTIUS AND HIS PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE[1]

A paper written on the subject of international peace is of interest these days, because men everywhere are concerned over the condition into which international relations have fallen. The world feels that the characteristic international institutions of our day,—The Hague Peace Conferences, the League of Nations, the World Court,—have not yet reached that perfection of which they are capable. Recollecting, also, the fact that there have been elements making for international peace in earlier days; as, for instance, the much-quoted common gods of the Greeks, their common mysteries and Olympic games, men naturally look to history for assistance in the application and enforcement of present day international law. And on the way back through the history of the years, one man, perforce, arrests attention, because of the decided change in the basic conception of international law, which he is said to have introduced. That man's name is Hugo Grotius, and the change, which he is said to have introduced, is known as "the emancipation of jurisprudence from theology."[2]

Hugo Grotius stands out today pre-eminent in the study of the science of international law. Unfortunately, however, opinions are divided as to the value of his contribution to the cause of international peace. Some regard the illustrious jurist as "one of the most learned Protestants," and consequently, look upon him as the prophet of a new era in the field of international law. Others believe they delve more deeply into the ultimate causes of the rules and regulations, which he sets forth, when they emphasize the names of his predecessors; as, Isidore of Ceville, Gratian, Francesco de Vittoria and Suarez. But not one will deny these propositions: first, that Grotius and his time mark a stopping point in tracing the history of international

[1] Paper read at Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Columbus, Ohio, Dec. 26-29, 1923.

[2] Cf. POUND, R. *Outlines of Lectures on Jurisprudence*, 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1914.

law from modern to ancient times; secondly, that he deserves the sympathy and the attention of Catholic scholars.

He deserves the sympathy of Catholic scholars, because of the manifest bond of friendship, which inclined him during his lifetime to the teachings of the Catholic faith.[3] Some have thought that he died a Catholic.[4] Protestants of his day accuse him of having the intention of embracing the Catholic faith. His Catholic friends in Paris thought the same of him. His friend, the celebrated Petau, is said to have offered the Holy Sacrifice for the repose of his soul. He himself maintained, in his work, *Votum pro pace Ecclesiae*, that "the dogmas of Faith should be decided by traditions and the authority of the Church, and not by Holy Scripture only;" and, in another work, the *Rivetiani Apologetici Discussio*—a posthumous work—that, "without the supremacy of the Pope it is impossible to put an end to disputes."[5]

He deserves the attention of Catholic scholars, because his celebrated work, the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, has left its impress on the history of the world, and represents a turning point in the history of jurisprudence that intimately concerns Catholic theology.

Outside of original sources; namely, the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, the *De Jure Praedae, Hugonis Grotii Epistolae Quotquot reperiri potuerunt*, (the letters in this collection number more than two thousand), satisfactory materials for the study of the work of Grotius in international law are, indeed, quite scarce. "In English," to quote the words of his recent American biographer, Vreeland, "there is exceedingly little published of this great man. As one scans the record of history and international politics, he comes, from time to time, upon the name, but it is seldom more than a name."[6] The biographies to which this author refers, one written in Dutch. and one in French, were published before seventeen-hundred and fifty-five. Another biography in French, is quoted in Ter Meulen's, *Der Gedanke der Interna-*

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[3] Cf. HERGENROETHER, *Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. III, S. 66.
[4] Cf. GOERRES, *Ist Hugo Grotius Katholisch gestorben?* in the *Hist. Pol. Blaetter*, CLIV, 1914.
[5] BALMES, *Catholicism and Protestantism etc.*, p. 424. New York, 1851.
[6] *Hugo Grotius, the Father of the Science of International Law*, p. VIII, New York, 1917.

tionalen Organization, (p. 157). Hill, in his Introduction to the Campbell edition of the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, (p. 15), leads one to believe that, in addition to the four-hundred-and-sixty-one titles of the works of Grotius himself, there exists a comprehensive literature concerning them. A more than casual consultation of the sources at the Congressional Library and the Bibliotheca Nacional de Mexico, in the interest of my subject, would indicate that sources bearing upon it are almost as difficult to obtain in foreign languages as in the English. Several monographs that bear on the subject have been published abroad. One of these monographs is that referred to above under the head of the Goerres Society. Another monograph bears the title: *Francisco de Vittoria*: published by Monsignor Pfeifer. These I have not been able to secure.

Yet of the standing of Grotius in the domain of international law there is no doubt. Thus, Hallam, in his *Introduction to the Literature of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Volume III, p. 178), speaking of the work of Grotius, writes: "It is acknowledged by everyone, that the publication of this treatise made an epoch in the philosophical, and, almost, we might say, in the political history of Europe," and, he observes, "the book may be considered as nearly original in its general platform, as any work of man in an advanced stage of civilization and learning can be." "The influence of the work," we find in the *Cyclopedia of Political Science*, (Chicago, 1883, p. 725), "was very great, for it was permeated with the spirit of Christianity and humanity...Gustavus Adolphus carried it always with him. All the diplomats of the period immediately following Grotius, referred to it as they would to a book of statutory law." "Charles Lewis, the Elector Palatinate," writes Walker, "conferred upon Samuel Pufendorf a chair of natural law in the university of Heidelberg, because of his published stories of Grotius."[1] Again, the same author writes: "The prompt and universal applause which hailed the appearance of the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, coupled with its obvious permanent influence in the field of practice constitutes the fullest and highest proof of the author's diagnosis, at once, of the needs of the day, and of the moral qualities of men" (p. 335). The

[1] *History of the Law of Nations*, p. 337.

fact that Grotius himself prepared four editions of his work for the press, and that there appeared sixty editions of the work itself or of translations into foreign languages within the period of one-hundred-and-fifty-eight years, (1625-1773), is the surest indication of the influence and popularity of the work. During the nineteenth century, however, its popularity was decidedly on the wane. But these days again, the tide of public opinion is sweeping strongly in its favor.[8] "The *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*," writes Vreeland, "was destined to shine through succeeding centuries as a star of the first magnitude in the realm of international law. And today his (referring to Grotius) writings in the field of international law are once more in the glare of public scrutiny." P. C. Molhuysen, a prominent international jurist at the Hague, writes that "he is of the mind that it is sufficiently clear that scholars, lawyers, statesmen are going to take the work of Grotius in hand before all others in the reconstruction of the law of nations after the greatest war of history." Andrew D. White, former ambassador to Germany, furnished, perhaps the climax of praise, when in 1889, acting under instructions from the President of the United States, and in behalf of the American people, he placed a wreath on the tomb of Grotius, and, in the course of his remarks, paid this high tribute to the work of the illustrious jurist; namely, "that of all works, not claiming to be divinely inspired, this book, by a man proscribed and hated both for his politics and religion, has proved the greatest blessing to humanity."[9]

Apart from orations and prefaces in books, the praise of Grotius is of an equally high order. Thus, Nys, a foremost authority, writing in 1862, and later, even in the present century, declares that "the publication of the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, was epochal in history; that Grotius truly founded the science of international law." Walker tells us that Modern International Law may date its beginnings as a distinct branch of scientific study from the labors of Hugo Grotius. "To the great Dutch jurist and his work," writes Dunning, in his *History of Political Theories*, "has been attributed by general consent the foundation of the science of international law, in which is found the perfect

[8] Cf. *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, (Molhuysen, p. X).
[9] Cf. *Old South Leaflets*, Vol. V (1902), p. 21.

fruit of the doctrine of the law of nature." These praises might be multiplied. But those which have been cited will leave no doubt in anyone's mind as to the universal admiration in which the great jurist is held to-day in the study of international law.

It would be unfair, however, to make an idol of Grotius. We must not conclude from what has been said that Grotius is the embodiment of all that was known of international law before his time. Nor must we consider him the good spirit that presides over the destinies of international law at the present time. For throughout the current careful appraisement of the value of the contribution of Grotius to the science of international jurisprudence, there is perceptible a readiness on the part of critics to consider him, not so much the originator as the synthesizer and popularizer of what was known of the law of war and peace before his time. Even Hallam, as has been noted, feels that he must allude to this suggestion of the originality of the work of Grotius. Nys, too, follows up his absolute statement that Grotius truly founded the science of international law, with the qualification that this does not mean that the subject was not seriously considered before his time, because, both in the department of natural law, and international law, there were precursors. James Brown Scott, Editor-in-Chief of the Classics of International Law published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, writes: "Grotius is universally considered the founder of International Law. This, like many general statements is true enough, but likely to mislead. He was not the founder, nor was he the father of the science any more than Adam Smith was the founder of Political Economy as a science... We look beyond Grotius and see that International Law of to-day is rooted in a more remote past." Speaking of the works of Vittoria. the same author writes: "They are sufficient to show that international law is not a thing of our day or generation, or of the Hague Conference, nor, indeed, the creation of Grotius, but that the system is almost as old as the New World." I am indebted to Walsh's *History and Nature of International Relations,* 1922, for the quotations from Doctor Scott. Appendix, p. 295.

It is more than passing strange that Grotius himself should not have acknowledged more of his predecessors among

scholastic theologians, especially since in his great work he does cite more than sixteen hundred authorities. Nys considers that the omission of certain theologians may be owing to the religious bitterness of the times, quoting and approving Lorimer's well-known reference to the same condition. Taking cognizance of the belief of Grotius that his predecessors had touched lightly on the law of war and peace, notably Balthazar, Ayala, and Albericus Gentilis, he observes "that the theologians had arrived at an extraordinary knowledge of the causes of war, and accomplished results that were very satisfactory." He expresses surprise that Grotius should have passed them by in silence. Nys, in his *Les déjà Origines du Droit International*, says: "Nous l'avons signalé déjà; Grotius se trompe; en ce qui concerne plus specialement les causes de la guerre, s'il est un reproche que ses precurseurs ne sauraient encourir, c'est celui d'en avoir passée l'étude sous silence. La plupart d'entre eux mirent à cette étude un soin extraordinaire et beaucoup aboutirent à de remarquables résultats." Dunning states that "the treatise of Grotius is no more logical than that of Suarez and little different from it in many of its conclusions." Of course, this statement detracts in no way from such a master of logic as Suarez. Walker says: "We are now in a position to attempt to estimate of the indebtedness of the world to Grotius. In the first place we may remark that there is little or nothing new in his general treatment of his subject. His system is fundamentally identical with the ideas outlined by Suarez." Again, the same author observes: "If there is little novel in the legal system of Grotius, there was equally but little original in either the arrangement or the matter of his work. The arrangement of Books I and II of the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* closely follows that of the *De Jure Belli* of Gentilis. The matter of Grotius is largely borrowed from the writings of various predecessors." Ter Meulen considers that Grotius built upon the teachings of the great scholastics of the sixteenth century. These men, he observes, discoursed to a small circle of hearers, Grotius himself adapting their doctrine to international relations generally, and popularizing it:—"Hundert Jahre spaeter legte Hugo Grotius, indem er auf dem aufbaute, was die grossen Scholastiker des sechsehnten Jahrhunderts in bezug auf die christliche Moral in den interna-

tionalen Verhaeltnissen, jedoch innerhalb eines kleinen Kreises, gelehrt hatten, in Uebereinstimmung mit den Beduerfnissen einer sich fortwaehrend entwicklenden Weltwirtschaft, deren Pioniere die Kaufleute der niederlaendischen Republik waren, den Grund zu einem von jedem kirchlichen Dogma unabhangien Voelkerrecht, in dem die Forderung einer Staatenautonomie sich mit den Staaten auferlegten Verflichtung, den Gesetzen einer Ethnik gemaess zu handeln, verbinden sollte." Hayes sums up the merit of the work of Grotius in these words: "On the Law of War and Peace is an exhaustive and masterful text-book —the first and one of the best systematic treatises on the fundamental principles of international law."[10]

Turning to the words of Grotius himself, we find his soul burning with a desire for peace. In the first volume of the sources the *De Jure Praedae*, Grotius follows in the footsteps of the Spanish jurists in that he declares war to be a test of a right.

The *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* reproduces many theories of his earlier work. "War," writes Grotius, "is a matter of the weightiest importance, since it commonly brings many calamities, even upon the innocent, and, therefore, since there are reasons on both sides of a question, we should incline to peace." Therefore he insists that every war should rest on a just cause... And he enumerates the causes as for a court. He does this, not merely for the passing circumstances of states, but for all future developments whatsoever. To this end he draws upon all available sources....Bible passages, etc.....in order to establish what nature teaches through conscience. He sets out to discover the moral sense of rational humanity. These rules, in turn, as they bind individuals, he applies to the family of states. The antiquity of usage should determine for the most part the value of Christian law and interpretation.

When, however, a dispute arises between princes, three ways lie open whereby misunderstandings may be accommodated without war; namely, *conference, arbitration,* and *the casting of lots.* Then, it is that Grotius rises to his full height, when he adopts and publishes his celebrated suggestion for a Congress of States.

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[10] *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. II, p. 232.

"And for this, as well as for several other reasons," he writes, "it would be not only convenient, but somewhat necessary that Congresses of Christian States were held, where, by them who are no ways interested on one side or other, the differences of contending parties might be made up; that some means were thought upon to oblige parties at variance to accept of a peace upon fair and reasonable Terms."

Thus, we are in a position to make several conclusions regarding Grotius, which seem to be justified by history. Grotius, perhaps, because he discarded the forms of degenerate scholasticism, perhaps, because he advanced far beyond his predecessors in the detailed elaboration of their principles, perhaps, rather, because he based his principles upon nature only to the exclusion of the supernatural, proved immensely popular and influential. And yet, if it be asked what Grotius actually accomplished for international peace, it will be difficult to name institutions or movements that are traceable to him. Nor with Urquhart, should one be thought cynical to put such a question. As one surveys the years that follow in the wake of the great Grotius, we can discern no solid basis for international peace springing from a system that he created. We do not know whether the words of Kant may not be true that "many a one has appealed to the principles of Grotius to justify but never to prevent war." But this is true that insofar as Grotius advocated a departure from the spiritual in the matter of international law, he broke away from a system that obtained in Europe for over a thousand years, a system that had enabled men to arrive at the very principles, which he adopts as dictated by reason. Leaving the natural law alone as a source of last appeal, in the law between nations, he prepared the way for the innovations in the conceptions of the bases of law that meet us up to the present day. Though his work was in harmony with the spirit of the times, and thus he is a sort of a prophet, it represents a first stage in a shifting scene, which some term the phenomena of progress, but, which, despite the terminology employed, was certainly preliminary to the situations that meet us today in the matter of international peace. In the words of Walker, "Grotius's work as the foundation of a scientific system, would seem to be a veritable quick-

sand." In the words of Lord Acton, "his work in the hands of others became the lever that displaced the balance of the world."[11]

One cannot, indeed, attribute this falling off to Grotius directly, for he clearly lays down splendid principles. Nevertheless, we are forced to conclude that there is undoubtedly something faulty, something lacking, something incapable of realization in the system which he propounded. Though with David Jayne Hill, we feel, that Grotius may yet be vindicated among the new schools of jurisprudence, as representing a doctrine, at best, as clear as any other which has been substituted for it."

On the other hand, Catholic scholars in every decade that has elapsed, have upheld and developed the old traditional principles of the Church, as satisfying the most rigorous requirements of reason even in the matter of international law. And without detracting in the least from the established fame of Grotius, it must be concluded, from an investigation of the fundamental causes upon which international peace rests, and for the sake of future international comity, that international peace in the past has resulted, in any considerable degree, only insofar as it has been based on the teachings of Christ, the Prince of Peace, the constant practice of the Catholic Church, the Mother of the Nations, and the carefully formulated principles embodied in Catholic theology. In conclusion, we wish to proclaim the words of the gloriously reigning Pontiff, Pius XI, that "peace must be a matter not merely of written record. Peace must consist not only in the superficiality of mutual courtesies, but it must penetrate the hearts.....It must be a peace that shall draw all hearts together, and open the reciprocal affection of good will."

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[11] *History of Freedom*, p. 46.

EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CATHOLICS IN ENGLAND

The history of Catholicism in England during the 18th century does not appeal to us generally so much as the same history does in earlier or later times. In the first half of the century it is gloomy both in spiritual and temporal affairs. And in the second half, though the temporal cloud has somewhat lifted, the spiritual aspect is even more depressing than in the previous period; Catholics were few in number, and sincerely faithful Catholics still fewer. One is reminded of a scene in the Old Testament when the Judge Gideon at the head of very moderate force was told to attack the hosts of Midian and was then directed to reduce by a severe test his small army to a mere handful of 300 men, that the glory of his victory might not be ascribed to human effort. Victory followed in Gideon's case—and a Second Spring has come for us—as Bishop Challoner prophesied in the worst days "God has given us a new people."

Looking at the matter in this light we shall better be able to appreciate the value of the 18th century to English Catholicism. Then indeed, humanly speaking, the battle was lost. In the reign of William III according to an official report there were 13,856 Catholic freeholders in England. Under the early Georges this number was reduced. "We lose ground every day," writes the Benedictine chaplain of Sir Marmaduke Constable. That is how it seemed and more than seemed in the time of George II, for Catholicism was not only a persecuted religion, but was tied to a lost political cause. It is remarkable how the Stuart family both in its coming and going injuriously affected the position of the Faithful in England. In the time of Elizabeth Catholics were not unnaturally suspected of a leaning to the cause of Mary Queen of Scots, who both by hereditary right and through her religion must have seemed to many of them their true sovereign, and this as we know made their position doubly dangerous. Again when England was saying a final good-bye to the Stuarts, Catholics almost unanimously professed adherence to James III. To see the truth of this we only have to consult the list of Catholic non-jurors under George I, which in-

cludes persons of any property in all ranks of society. To be a Catholic was to be at any rate passively disloyal to the Protestant Succession. Under these circumstances the only safety was obscurity. The result being that there is no time perhaps since the days of British Christianity when we know so little of the history of the Church in England as in the period between 1715 and 1750.

Private letters are the most reliable source of information, and they are not very illuminating.

In the houses of the old Catholic families such letters may be found in moderate abundance, but they are often disappointing. For instance such a critical year as 1745 is either almost, or quite a blank as far as letters are concerned. At such a moment the suspect naturally ceased to correspond, and even in quieter times the letters are mainly taken up with business, or personal matters, and we have to read patiently on with the hope of finding some brief allusion to passing events, or some reference illustrating Catholic affairs. Caution becomes the main characteristic of the persecuted, and these old Catholic squires, and their priestly correspondents were cautious to the point of dulness. The ladies are naturally a little more rash and vivid, but they are apt also to be somewhat inconsequent. I find that even nuns do not altogether shed their feminine peculiarities.

With regard, first, to the political situation we see that the Catholic families were inevitably committed to the Stuart cause. James II and his son were manifestly, according to the legitimist theory, the true Kings of England, and this was a theory dear to Catholic hearts. In the will of a Catholic cavalier who had fought for Charles I, I find this exhortation to the heirs "Be loyal to the King his most excellent Majesty, for whom you will stand as long as you stand for the truth of the Roman Faith." And this in the time of Charles II, who at any rate was not a professing Catholic. How much would this loyalty be intensified when the King was really a Catholic, ready as in the case of the two James's to lose even his throne for his Faith! Borrow in his *Bible in Spain* speaks of the English Catholic seminaries of the Peninsula as still teaching passive obedience even after the Stuart family had ceased to exist, so strong was the tradition in this matter. But of course Borrow is not to be depended

upon in his assertions about Catholics. As an illustration of Jacobite feeling we find the President of Douai in 1734 writing to Bernard Howard, the ancestor and namesake of the present Duke of Norfolk, but at that time representing the poorest, remotest, and most Jacobite branch of the Norfolk family. In this letter Dr. Witham the President says, "your son is being bred up in such principles as I know you approve, and which will be most approved by the best and highest authority. This I only hint to you as I know it must be very agreeable to you." By the highest authority I presume he means King James III in Rome—or possibly Pope Clement XII. The Papacy at this time gave its full support to the Stuart cause. About ten years earlier the then Pope, Benedict XIII, had himself taken the christening of Prince Henry who was on that account called Henry Benedict, and was later better known as the Cardinal of York (Henry IX). I remember in 1889 seeing a picture of this remarkable Papal function at the Stuart Exhibition.

It was not until about 1766, that a later Pope, Clement XIII, finally forbade any further public recognition of the Stuart Claims in Rome, when the death of James III, and the disreputable character of Prince Charlie (Charles III), made any further Papal patronage of the Stuarts only a useless injury to English Catholics.

The President of Douai says in the above extract that he only gives a hint—and we cannot expect more than hints in letters from suspected persons, which were quite liable to be perused by the officials of King George's post office. But Bernard Howard's sister was not so particularly careful. A Dominican nun of the Second Order at Brussels she was the acknowledged agent of the Jacobite cause in those parts. The Master General of the Dominican Order had given this lady (Sister Mary Rose Howard) special faculties to act in such a capacity.

Referring to the Stuart King he writes: "His Royal Majesty's letters shall not be opened by the Prioress, and Sister Mary Rose shall send letters relating to his affairs closed." In her letters to her brother Bernard, Mary Rose often refers to King James then resident at Rome. Sometimes she calls him Cousin Francis, as his name was James Francis—sometimes Cousin Stuen—which of course represents Stuart. The How-

ards quarter the Plantagenet arms, and were at one time far too near the throne for the safety of their heads; in the time of Charles I they had intermarried with the Royal Lennox Stuarts, hence the term cousin was permisible.

In 1727 Madam Rose writes: "I hear often from Cousin Francis I believe you will see him soune, probably he may pass through France. If this way I shall make your compliments."

Perhaps Francis was too obvious, so later Stuen was adopted, though that would scarcely have deceived the minions of Sir Robert Walpole. Six years later Sister Rose writes, "I heard lately from my Cousin Stuen who is well and ever offers me his protection in proper time. I had a letter from his Lady's own hand last weeke with obliging expressions on account of a box of work I sent her, and who told me she had wore a fine bouquet I had maid in a publique Roman solemnity." In 1734 Madam Rose writes again: "My cousin Stuen has sent me his own and his Ladys picture carved in silver, their two sons finely engraved, as I am told charming cutts, of which I have half a doz of each to give to my friends. As to the cutts I designe to send each to the Duke of Norfolke, the same to my favourite Phil (that is Philip Howard brother of the Duke and the friend of the poet Pope), and then to my dearest Brother. Depend upon it if my nephew B. comes to be capable of Cannonchey interest will not be wanted." The nephew B. here mentioned, is the young man lately alluded to as being brought up in Jacobite principles. He soon hoped to be a priest, and his aunt here promises him a Canonry through the influence of King James at Rome. The Bernard Howards were of very moderate means, and lived in the South of England where Jacobites did not flourish much. The true home of the Jacobite cause was in the North, particularly in Lancashire. I have the letters of a Lancashire gentleman of this period. He always describes Lancashire as "God's own country." I suppose on account of its devotion to the Faith. Here such people as the Townleys, and Brokholes were ready to risk all in the cause, and not treat it merely as pious sentiment. The same may be said in a less degree of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland and Yorkshire. In these counties were still flourishing, but by no means all Jacobite enthusiasts, the Haggerstons, the Howards of Corby, the Claverings of Callaly, the Swin-

burnes of Capheaton, the Salvins of Croxdale, the Widdringtons, the Smithsons, the Erringtons, the Charltons, the Silvertops and the Selbys of Biddleston—the latter being the originals of the famous family in Sir Walter Scott's Robroy. Also the Howards of Greystock, the Curwens, the Huddlestons of Hutton John, the bastard Dacres of Lanercost, the Tempests, the Stapletons, the two branches of Langdales, the Stourtons, the Palmes of Naburn, the Constables of Burton Constable, the Constables of Everingham.

Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham was a very favourable specimen of the Jacobite gentleman of the period. More cultivated than most of his contemporaries, some of whom (as I know by experience) could hardly write, we find Sir Marmaduke happy by his Yorkshire fireside, reading the latest work by Alexander Pope or some selection from his own excellent library—which still exists. Or rather he talks of the glow of an East Riding fire, which he could not often enjoy, as perhaps on the advice of an unsympathetic government he spent most of his later life on the Continent. I found an account of a very suspicious shooting party which Sir Marmaduke in his giddy youth had joined in Northumberland, to shoot pheasants, and talk treason with his cousins the Radcliffs before the fatal enterprise which brought one of the party, Lord Derwentwater to the block. In some way Sir Marmaduke was not involved, and did not lose his estates, though he was a much suspected person, as his Father Sir Philip had been in the Tower in the time of William III. But he probably was obliged to spend most of his life afterwards abroad, often in company with his condemned cousin Charles Radcliffe, who came back to die in the next attempt. His letters to his chaplain agent and to his nephew, Sir Carnaby Haggerston, are full of information about everything but what we want to know about.

Even when in Rome Sir Marmaduke never mentions the exiled Count, where all the while Sir Robert's spies kept King George informed of all who came and went at that forbidden spot.

If we want to study the making of a young Jacobite in the second quarter of the 18th century we can take the case of Sir Thomas Haggerston born in 1722 in the remote Northumberland

Castle which took its name from that ancient and loyal family, from which so many of the present Catholic families are descended in the male line, though bearing names many and various.

First we find the Jesuit Father Chaplain announcing "the birth of the brave bouncing lad," and rejoicing that "he is born in the hunting season as he may come to love that sport" as much as his spiritual director. Next we hear of him going to some little school at Durham kept by a Father with so truly a Catholic name as Anderton. Later on he is at St. Omers still under the care of the Jesuit Fathers—and exact accounts are given of his progress. When he leaves St. Omers it is with a Jesuit tutor—he is to be dressed according to his rank, even his first wig is mentioned. He is taken to the dentist in Paris for some "growing trouble on his tooth," but there, unfortunately, having met an unsuitable young lady he has to be spirited away. In England under the very eye of the Jesuit he is directed to pay his addresses to a young woman of means,—not beautiful, "what do looks matter," says his fond uncle, Sir Marmaduke, or even of lofty lineage, for as Sir Marmaduke again remarks, " a Haggerston has enough of nobility to cover the want of it in his fiancé." This match however desirable financially did not come off, for Thomy, as his friends always call him, eventually married a Miss Silvertop in his own rank and neighborhood. He was ready to return to England in the critical year 1745, and this event is apparently far more interesting to the two Jacobite Baronets than the movements of Prince Charlie, which are of course never alluded to at all. We might have thought such a moment unsuitable for a voyage from France to England, when all the coasts were swarming with watching war ships, and a French invasion had only just failed in 1744, and was to be attempted again in 1745. But this was the time chosen for the precious Thomy to sail by what they call the long sea to his home. "The long sea" meant that the voyage was not to be straight across the Channel, but all the way to Newcastle by sea. Here Sir Carnaby's coach-in-four was to be sure to meet him in order to emphasize the dignity of the heir to the title. Beyond this our letters do not take us—but a Newcastle antiquary who had made a study of the Haggerston Family supplied me with the follow-

ing traditional anecdote, which he thought probably had some basis in fact. When the Duke of Cumberland was on his way to Scotland in pursuit of the Highland army he determined to quarter himself at Haggerston Castle as an expensive punishment to its Jacobite owners. Having enjoyed their forced hospitality for some time, perhaps only for a few hours, the distinguished guest insisted upon the family coach, which had so lately brought the heir from Newcastle on a happier occasion, being used to drive him some stages on his journey towards the border. It was already dusk, and Thomy undertook to drive, or at any rate sit on the box, and succeeded in overturning the coach in a ditch, where his Royal Highness was detained for some time using truly Royal language. This sounds like the trick of a young Jacobite gentleman straight from St. Omers.

After this we know little more of our hero, except that he became Sir Thomas Haggerston, and was eventually laid to rest in the romantic burial ground of his race, Holy Island.

His next brother, always known as Billy in the letters, inherited the estates of his great Uncle Sir Marmaduke—and marrying Lady Winefred Maxwell became the ancestor of the Constable Maxwells, the Lord Herries—but they are all really in the male line Haggerstons.

How can we account for the failure of the English Jacobites to respond to the call of their chief in the hour of need, and of brilliant enterprise? They had been so loyal to their ideal. It was not only the memory of 1715 that paralyzed the party, it was a change among the Catholics themselves. Catholic and Jacobite were no longer synonymous terms. We may say that it was principally a Duchess of Norfolk, and Sir Robert Walpole who conjointly secured this result. Soon after 1715, we find that the Stuart King in Rome was already aware of the coming change. There is a letter at Stonyhurst from a Jesuit Father describing how the birthday of James III was celebrated in Rome where after various churches had been visited in great state by the Young Prince and a procession of Cardinals, James sent for one of the Jesuit Fathers and asked for simple Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. He then went to his palace and made his confession to the Jesuit, after which when the Prince rose from his knees, he refused to allow his confessor to kiss his hand in

token of homage, thrusting his hands into his pockets to prevent the Priest carrying out his loyal purpose, remarking that they then only occupied the position of a penitent and his confessor. After this a political conversation followed. James said he hoped that the Society would do all that it could to maintain his cause in England, where he must have known that a great effort was being made to detach Catholics from the Jacobite banner. This interview gives us a characteristic glimpse of the young Stuart King, whose piety was such a cause of exasperation to his sceptical supporter Bolingbroke—and it also shows us that he was aware of the fact that some English Catholics were inclined to feel that the interests of Catholicism were no longer identical with the interests of his House. The Jacobite cause had lately received two terrible blows—first the failure of 1715, and secondly the death of Louis XIV. The new ruler of France, the Regent Orléans, had completely reversed the foreign policy of that State. Orléans was the cousin of George I, he and the new King of England determined to support each other, and an Anglo-French alliance was the consequence. James now had to leave France, and take refuge in Rome, where he remained for the rest of his long uneventful life. Orléans even went so far as to furnish the English Government with information with regard to Jacobite movements in France. I find a Jacobite lady of this period describing the Regent as "an ill-man" and as a persecutor of the Jesuits. The Society was no doubt hostile to the Regent in France, and loyal to the Jacobite cause in England. But this was not the case with all Catholics. A great deal depended at such a time upon the attitude of the Duke of Norfolk. One of the nun sisters of Bernard Howard described the Duke as "a glorious support and example to all Catholics as their Head and Patron." His influence among his co-religionists was no doubt very great.

Henry, seventh Duke of Norfolk, had become a Protestant soon after the Test Act, and had died a member of the Established Church in 1701. Fortunately he had no children. His brother, Lord Thomas Howard, an ardent Catholic, had previously died in the service of King James II, leaving a large family of sons the eldest of whom Thomas now succeeded as eighth Duke. He was only eighteen at the time. There was no doubt

in which direction his worldly interests pointed, but he remained faithful all his life to the Catholic Church, but not so faithful to the Stuart cause. He began, however, as an ardent Jacobite, and married into an ultra Jacobite family, Mary the heiress of Sir Nicholas Sherburne of Stonyhurst becoming Duchess of Norfolk in 1709. There was no doubt about the loyalty of this lady in early youth whom her father had sent to be touched for the King's Evil by the exiled monarch James II. We have an account of the young Duke during his courting days at Stonyhurst in some contemporary verses on the Stonyhurst Buck Hunt—

"Twas my good hap to see his Grace
As he on Twister mounted was;
Norfolk's great Duke, my muse does mean,
Whose skill in horsemanship was seen
So excellent my fancy swore
Chiron nee'r taught Achilles more;
With steady countenance he sat
While the proud steed did bound and jet,
Seeming of nature to complain
That he was made of ought tereens
Ready to mount the starry sphere,
And make a constellation there."

Not long afterwards we find the young Duke's brother Edward, as befitted the cadet of the family, taking part in the 1715 rising, and made a prisoner at Preston. By some means, (probably financial), the Government was persuaded to spare him, and after a mock trial he was acquitted. Later on the Duke himself was in the Tower for a short time, his relations with the Stuarts having probably been betrayed by the Regent's government in France. The Whig government tried alternately severity and kindness as a means of bringing the English Catholics to submit to the Protestant succession. Fr. Pollen sent me lately a letter from the Chaplain of some of the English Jacobites in France saying that in 1716 a threatening letter was sent by the Whig government to the Duke of Norfolk suggesting that the full severity of the penal laws would be invoked against the English Catholics if they did not at once adopt a more concilia-

tory attitude. As this apparently failed of its effect blandishments were next tried. Dr. Strickland, a Catholic divine, undertook to act as a mediator. He belonged to a family of Gallican, even Jansenist, sympathies, and willingly acted as an agent of the Whig government. His Protestant employers were so grateful for his services that they procured for him through the Emperor the Bishopric of Namur. I found at Everingham a document of his described as "A Paper put into the hands of Catholics." This was no doubt the copy furnished to Sir Marmaduke Constable. It was there proposed that the English Catholics should sever themselves from the Stuart cause, and particularly give up all dealings with the Cardinal Gualtieri the great friend and agent of James Stuart in Rome. Later on a meeting was arranged between Dr. Strickland and some representative English Catholics, including the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Waldegrave and Mr. Henry Charles Howard the head of the Greystoke branch of the ducal family. The Duke perhaps might have been persuaded, but his cousin kept taking him out of the room, and every time his Grace came back he appeared more steadfast in his Jacobite principles. The result was that Dr. Strickland's effort was a failure. Soon after this threats were again tried, and in 1722 the newly-elected House of Commons imposed a special impost, a kind of capital levy upon all Catholic landowners. What a shriek of despair that produced! There is a budget of letters at Everingham from various Catholic gentlemen saying they will all be ruined: as they already have to pay double taxation, and heavy registration fees.

Henry Charles Howard mentioned above was a fine type of the steadfast Jacobite gentleman whose ideas are summed up in the words previously quoted, "Be loyal to the King His most excellent Majesty for whom you will stand, as long as you stand for the truth of the Roman Faith—" But he died in 1720, and when his influence was removed a change gradually came over the attitude of the Duke of Norfolk, and others like-minded, who were weary of the struggle against hopeless odds. These more moderate persons began to adapt themselves to the Hanoverian situation. Perhaps the Duke felt he had done enough; he had been in the Tower and his brother Edward had nearly lost his head. If we study the history of the Norfolk family we shall

find them generally inclined to be moderate—in fact very English and fond of compromise. So in 1727 I find Mr. Salvin of Croxdale, a leading Catholic of this school, mentioning in a letter that the Duke had just left Bath to attend the Coronation of George II. This was a very marked step to the Duke. A coronation was certainly a lure; he loved such ceremonies. There is at Arundel the book of the coronation of George I. The Duke cannot possibly have attended on that occasion, but I suppose he liked to gloat over the details. Even the coronation of a Usurper appealed to the hereditary instincts of an Earl Marshal. What a self denial for such a man to have to forgo as a Catholic the pleasure of personally acting as Earl Marshal on these occasions. Duke Thomas consoled himself by travelling to Italy to attend the coronation of the first King of Sardinia.

But there was trouble brewing for him in the domestic scene. The Duchess had not moved with the times, and she was a most determined person. It did not become the last of the Sherburns of Stonyhurst to bow her proud head to a German King. And so a legal separation followed—the indignant lady retired to her Lancashire home, and the Duke went his own gait. This Duchess was a very tall woman; we are told that when she went to Bath, and was taking the waters in the manner of ablution, her rank and height combined gave her such an advantage that she nearly drowned the other unfortunate ladies. At Stonyhurst she consoled herself in the friendship of Perry Widdrington whose political principles at any rate were sound, if he had no others to speak of.

Duke Thomas died soon afterwards in 1732. In his portrait at Arundel we see perfectly aristocratic features, set off to advantage by the dress of the period. His adherence to the faith was of great value at a most critical time. It is difficult to realise what it meant to a young aristocrat of that period to be excluded from the House of Lords, and all political importance. In those days when the nobility were at the height of their glory, and he the first of them all, "not a lord in all the country was so great a lord as he," and yet he had to live a life of obscurity while a Deputy Earl Marshal exercised his favourite functions. In the *Catholic Encyclopedia* it is wrongly stated that Duke Thomas conformed. This is a gross libel on a faithful Catholic.

I have consulted the House of Lords, where he never took his seat. Every temptation was held out by the Government to induce Catholic gentlemen to conform. It meant a title or a rise in the Peerage—things so precious in those days. We know that James Lord Derwentwater might by apostasy have saved his life and his estates. His cousin Lord Waldegrave, also a Catholic, brought a message to that effect to the Tower, and another offer was probably made on the very scaffold. Derwentwater was the grandson of Charles II, and Waldegrave of James II. When the Earl had refused the offer on such terms, he turned to his cousin Lord Waldegrave, and told him that he was in danger of losing something better than his estates or even his head. And sure enough seven years later the Jesuit Chaplain at Haggerston writes to Sir Marmaduke Constable, "Though my Lord Wallgrave and Sir John Gage may be highly applauded for what they have done, yet I presume these are but cross steps to the main chance."

Yes, that puts the case in a nutshell, it was "the main chance" which Catholics missed in those days, as sometimes in these also. As a reward Lord Waldegrave eventually became Ambassador to France and Earl of Waldegrave, and Sir John Gage got into Parliament and was made a Knight of the Bath—while his cousin Thomas, who was also an apostate, was made a Viscount. But the most striking instance of a Catholic gentleman of that period reaching "the main chance by cross steps" was that of Sir Hugh Smithson. He is constantly mentioned while still a Catholic in the letters of Sir Marmaduke Constable. Sir Hugh belonged to a well-known Catholic family descended on the female side from the Percys. Sir Marmaduke complains that as a young man he was wasting his estate by gambling. Perhaps Sir Hugh's fortunes in this way became impaired—but he recovered them by a most fortunate marriage, as he won the hand of Lady Elizabeth Seymour the heiress of the Percys. After that, or before that, I suppose a religion which got in the way of social success had to be dropped; and so Sir Hugh Smithson eschewed the errors of Popery, and eventually became Duke of Northumberland. This was indeed the main chance!

But to return to the Howards, they at any rate kept their religious faith, though they changed their political faith. We

have seen how Duke Thomas attended the Coronation of George II and was consequently cut by his Duchess. But his brother Edward, the next Duke of Norfolk, went a step further with the full approval of *his* Duchess. She was the daughter of Edward Blount of Blagdon the friend of Alexander Pope and a man of moderation. Perhaps the new Duchess did not like her sister-in-law—sisters-in-law are not always passionately attached—at any rate she determined to take an exactly opposite line to the Stonyhurst Duchess, it may have been on purpose to annoy. She persuaded Duke Edward,—who was never anything more than the Duchess's husband, to go to the Court of George II.

In 1733 almost directly after their accession to the title, we read how the new Norfolks made this great concession. Lord Irwin was the owner of the borough of Horsham not far from Arundel, and knew all about the Norfolks, and we find their relative Lady Irwin in January 1733 writing to her father, Lord Carlisle: "The Duke and Duchess of Norfolk were at Court on Friday where they were received with great distinction. The Duchess assured the Queen that though they were of a different religion they had as much duty, and regard for the King as any of his subjects. This declaration shows that they have no intention to enter into any interest contrary to the King's, and is a great step from one of their opinion where religion governs politics. The Duke and Duchess of Norfolk are both such bigots it was not expected they would give this open declaration of quitting the interest of the Pretender." And these were the people to whom poor Madam Rose sent her "charming cutts" of Prince Charlie and his brother. After this the Norfolks became very friendly with the Royal Family of Guelph, and as is well known offered an asylum at Norfolk House to Frederick Prince of Wales —who stayed there for some time, during which period the future George III was born in what is now old Norfolk House. In politics the Norfolks and gradually nearly all the old Catholic families, gave up the Tory connection, and attached themselves to the Whig Party, the last Whig Duke of Norfolk being the grandfather of the late Duke. The government of Sir Robert Walpole now began to treat the Catholics with some consideration, and to protect them as far as possible from the application of the penal laws. Walpole's object was to make the Catholics

feel that they were so safe under George II's paternal rule that they had no need to wish for the Stuart King's return. That he accomplished his object to a large extent we may judge from the cold reception so many English Catholics gave to Prince Charlie when he did arrive. The lethargic peace of Walpole's days had got into their bones. Romance was dead, loyalty was asleep, they only asked to be left alone. At Everingham there is in the correspondence an instance of Walpole's protective spirit. In 1735 Archbishop Blackbourne of York was attempting to apply the penal laws. Dom Potts the Chaplain agent of Sir Marmaduke Constable writes thus to his absent Baronet: "Our Archbishop is very busy, he has laid an injunction on all his clergy to give him the names of all Papists, or supposed Papists, men and women and children above the age of 13 years. Second, to give the names of all Popish Priests or supposed to be such whether constant dwellers or journiers. Third, whether there is any house or place where Mass is understood to be performed, to which there is a resort of Papists on the Lord's Day or at any other time. Fourth, if there be any Popish School kept and by whom. Fifth, if any Popish Bishop has given Confirmation. Sixth, and lastly, if any has been perverted to join religion. To these six heads they are to give their answers against or on Midsummer day under pain of suspension. What the consequence will be is as yet unknown." We notice here I think that pressure had to be put upon the parsons in the East Riding to induce them to inform about their Catholic neighbours. They evidently wished to leave well alone, partly from a lazy benevolence, partly out of fear of the powerful Catholic landlords who abounded in those benighted parts. The Squire of the Parish in the eighteenth century was a formidable person to offend, even though he might be a Papist. What was evidently threatened at this time was the application of the penal laws. But how was it to be avoided? Not through any want of Protestant zeal on the part of the Archbishop of York. In another letter we read, "The Archbishop's threats as hoped will blow over, but not as an effect of his clemency." What then was the charm which laid the storm? We find it in a letter from Dom Potts to another Benedictine monk. "It is said that the Duke of Norfolk will speak to Sir Robert about this affair." Yes, there was the secret of

safety. The all powerful Sir Robert was a friend at Court, and what was his well known maxim? "Let sleeping dogs lie."

But still Catholics had to be careful and quiet. We find in this same correspondence a friend of Dom Potts another Yorkshire Benedictine who got into serious trouble for reconciling an English clergyman to the Faith. This was a mortal offence. Dom Rokeby who did it, barely escaped imprisonment for life, and had to spend the rest of his days in Germany, where I think he became Abbott of Lambspring.

But still in Walpole's time, largely through the action of the Norfolks, the penal laws were generally kept in the cupboard only to be brought out if required. I remember when I was a small boy, and moderate severity was still fashionable in dealing with children, my terrible grandmother used to say to me in an awful voice: "You had better take care, sir, I have a *blue* rod in the cupboard." I never saw that blue rod with the naked eye—but as Wordsworth writes, "It flashed upon that inward eye." And with that vivid eye of five years old imagination I still see it in all its cerulean horrors.

But for Catholics the blue rod was a very real thing through temporarily out of sight. It could be brought out when required as happened when Bonnie Prince Charlie paid us that somewhat unwelcome visit. There are a number of letters addressed by Mr. Westby a Lancashire gentleman, to Charles Howard of Greystock, between the years 1739 and 1750. This Charles Howard was the son of that Henry Charles previously mentioned. And he was the father of another Charles Howard, the notorious eleventh Duke of Norfolk, who not only became a Protestant, but set the worst example in some other respects. Charles Howard senior of whom we are now speaking married into the very militant Jacobite family of Brokholes, and his wife (as is so often the case), was probably more ardent in a good cause than her husband. In 1744 England was in a very critical condition —we were daily expecting a French invasion with a large army under Saxe, and Prince Charlie had actually embarked on one of the French men-of-war. The hostile fleet was as usual checkmated by the weather—but the English Government could not reckon on that until it happened. At this exciting moment Mr. Westby, in London, writes to young Mr. Howard in Cumberland:

"A proclamation was last Saturday issued upon the expectation of an invasion from France to disarm all Papists and disaffected persons and take from them their horses that are above the value of £5. Your coach horses though they may not be serviceable in a military way yet are useful to you, you must therefore act prudently about them, and take care in this juncture to behave in such a manner as that the Government may known and plainly see that we are sensible of the favours we enjoy under it." There is not much Jacobite enthusiasm about Mr. Westby anyhow.

Charles Howard also evidently showed anything but an heroic spirit—he was a very different man to his father—for in the next letter Mr. Westby tries to soothe his fears. He writes "I am greatly concerned to see you so fearful and uneasy about the late proclamation for putting in execution the laws made against us. In this town and in most places that I have heard of it has been exercised with so much tenderness and leniency that I am persuaded the Justices have had directions and will proceed in the same easy manner with you there, so that I cannot forsee to myself any suspition that you'le be in the least danger of a conviction."

All the same in 1745 poor Mr. Howard seems to have got into trouble. Greystock Castle is close to Penrith where the doings of the rebel army are still remembered. General Oglethorpe (of whose body we have heard so much lately) was in command of one of King George's brigades during the crisis. He apparently acted with such doubtful loyalty that he was deprived of his command. And he was a friend of Mr. Howard's. Under these circumstances it seems certain that the timid Charles became in some way involved in the trouble. How could he help it living as he did in the very centre of the storm. I judge something went wrong by the letters. There is generally a regular budget every year—but in 1745 there are only two letters and in 1746 there are none at all. Probably Charles Howard had to lie low in those dangerous days. Thirty-one years later this same Charles Howard succeeded his distant cousin as Duke of Norfolk. Old General Oglethorpe was still living, and wrote to remind his friend of those stormy times gone by. We have his letter at Norfolk House. He writes in the best heroics as follows: "I

shall not detain your Grace by repeating my vows that you may long have the opportunity of exerting in your most illustrious station those virtues which you acquired in affliction and Persecution the School of Heroes. David was hunted like a Partridge on the Hills, Julius Caesar was a prisoner to Pirates, as was Constantine in Dioclesion's Court. The great Godfrey of Bolloyn, and Scanderberg of Epirus were formed to greatness by the Persecutions of tyrants." Surely these grandiloquent allusions refer to some very disagreeable episode in the life of a most unwilling hero. We gather that he had certainly been a fugitive, and probably for a time under arrest.

Before we close we must mention the religious side of the subject. Here our correspondents are quite as reticent as on political topics. I could quote several passages illustrating the way Holy Week and even Christmas time were kept as a kind of retreat. Mrs. Plowden the sister of the Earl of Stafford, and the ancestress of the present Lord Stafford, writes amusing newsy letters, generally taken up with social matters—but in one she says, "My brother is at Harden since this day sennit, and we are to go thither to pass the Holly Weeke and Holly Days of Easter."

In one of Sir Marmaduke's letters we have an allusion to the keeping of the first Friday. He had just lost his sister, the mother of Sir Carnaby Haggerston, and he writes to Fr. Potts in 1740: "On the first Friday in August lett all the friends and neighbors remember my dear sister in their prayers. Make to each a present of ½ a guinea." We have here an allusion to ordinary Catholics, "the friends and neighbors" mentioned, who would be glad of half a guinea each, were evidently not aristocrats, but of the people. The little we know of this period is mainly about the Upper Ten. We could wish for more information about Catholics in humbler walks of life.

There is a plan of the Tudor Mansion at Everingham as it was in the 18th century, from which we gather there was plenty of room for friends and neighbors at Mass, as the Chapel is nearly as large as the great hall of the house. In 1728 Confirmation was given at Everingham to 44 persons by the Vicar-Apostolic of the Northern District.

We have an inventory of the Chapel furniture at Everingham in 1746. Six sets of vestments with antipendiums for the

Altar and credences to match. The silver vessels were three chalices, three patens, a ciborium, a thurible and two pyxes, a Host box, a dish and cruets and two statues. There was also a brass "Remonstrance." The Fasts of the Church were rigorously kept. "How does Lent suit you?" or questions of that kind often occur in the Letters. The Jesuit Chaplain at Haggerston tells us how Sir Carnaby endeavoured to soften the horrors of the long fast and abstinence. Writing in 1727 he says to Sir Marmaduke Constable, "Your nephew designs to provide himself with a lobster soop each day in Lent, to keep the juices of his body from sowering in Spring; assure yourself that the sweetening diet, especially in the Spring of the year, lobsters cockles, oysters and such sort with moderate exercise is a better remedy" and so on.

The third Earl of Stafford is mentioned in the letters as then a boy—he later was very friendly with Horace Walpole, and I think the latter remarks on one occasion after dining with Lord Stafford in Lent: "These poor Papists can eat nothing, and have to swallow everything."

The nun correspondents of course frequently allude to religious matters. Madam Mary Rose writing to her brother Bernard and Anne his wife in 1733 say: "Pray assure my sister Howard of my most tender affections, and daily prayers, she was particularly remembered in this Family—(that is the Convent at the Spellekens, Brussels) on St. Anne's Day, as you was on St. Bernard's Day, having got fifteen to have Mass and Communion for each of you." Also another sister, Dominica Howard the Prioress, writes: "I dare not trespass further dearest brother on the weakness of your sight but send you this peece of silk steeped in the miraculous oyal flowing from the tomb of my great Patron St. Nicholas, of Myrh, Sovaran (as the office of his Feast expressed) for all diseased." This good lady has a most ponderous style—she anticipated Dr. Johnson. This same letter begins as follows: "I cannot but gratify the natural bent of my Hart towards the dearest and best of brothers in taking at proper and convenient occasions of expressing my regard and tender affections and often telling you my dearest how much they exceed all the edeavours in my power to give you a just idea of." Mary Rose who had a sense of humor writes on the same sheet,

and remarks with reference to above, "Deare Dominica has written so many love expressions that I repeate myne with assuring you I am your best Madam Rose, and if you will have more of me on that matter turne over and read the good Superionesses over again, and fancy I writ it."

There is a great deal in the Constable and Howard correspondence about young ladies going to English convents on the Continent for their education. Needless to say they often remained there for life—the proportion of nuns being perhaps one in three. They were quite cut off from home in those days—there were no holidays, and the atmosphere absorbed them. All the three sisters of Bernard Howard were nuns at Brussels, in the Convent founded by their uncle Cardinal Philip Howard.

There are a great many letters about the Haggerston girls who were sent to the Benedictines at Pontoise. Their parents in Northumberland could not, or did not look after them very well, the convent was very poor, almost bankrupt, and when uncle Marmaduke Constable visited them about 1743 he found them all grown out of their clothes to quite an alarming extent. He ventured to provide them with necessaries. Two of these young ladies became nuns later. The following is a letter from Bernard Howard's daughter Anne, aged fifteen, with regard to her vocation in 1735. She was at the Blue Nuns in Paris where her cousin Louisa Stafford was Abbess. Mrs. Plowden says of her: "My cousin Nancy is one of the finest girls without compliment I have ever seen."

Anne writes: "Dear Papa, I give you many thanks for your kind letter which you may imagine was no small satisfaction to me, and most particularly to find that both you and dear Mama consent to what I desired of you. I can assure you my dear Papa and Mama that you need be in no manner of concern that my age will make any alteration in my mind for I have all reason to confide that Almighty God will carry me on in what I undertake in His name only ..... if you reflect and are sensible of the affection I bear you and dear Mama with so much reason, you will be fully satisfied I am sure the leaving of you is the greatest trial I can ever meet with. And since Almighty God has given me grace to make that sacrifice, a moments reflection will be sufficient I think to make me easy in whatever else I may

meet in the course of my life." In the course of her life she was destined to meet the French Revolution. Fifty eight years later when herself Abbess she was imprisoned with other nuns in the Chaplain's lodge. The seal on this letter bears the emblem of the Sacred Heart.

Here is a specimen of a young man, the brother of the above, breaking the news to his father that he felt he had a vocation. This was Thomas Howard, for whom the Duke of Norfolk had obtained the position of a page at the Court of the Elector Palatine of the Rhine. Writing from Mannheim in 1733 he says: "Give me leave dear father to tell you that since I came here all my inclinations have changed for the better. The practise of virtue which I see here is more hard to be performed, seems to me more desirable, and all my desires to a military state have passed away and returned to that in which I wavered before. I have great desires to be an Ecclesiastick. ..... I fear the vices of some here, and begin to think they will not be better when they are soldiers than they are now Pages. I fancy that his Highness the Elector would help my intentions and give me a Canonicate when I go, for he gives most of the Pages some charge provided they behave themselves well—but be that as it will Sir, if God calls me you know I must obey, and therefore I shall take time to examine His inspirations."

An elder brother Henry, then in a wine merchant's office, but later the father of the 12th Duke of Norfolk, had no patience with the religious aspirations of Thomas Howard.

"As to what you say about brother Tom," he writes, "I can't but think him very unfitt for an ecclesiastical state—but miracles have not yet ceased."

In conclusion I will give here a description of the wardrobe, etc., of a Catholic gentleman of the professional class as preserved in these records. It is given to us by Dom Bede Potts, O.S.B., who though a monk was practically also a land agent, and had of course to dress as a layman in those days. It was the Benedictine custom for these isolated Chaplains to submit at intervals to their Superiors an exact account of what passed as their property. Writing to his Superior in March 1734 Dom Potts says "Pursuant to your orders by Mr. Stourton with regard to our memorial, mine is as follows: 3 coats, 1 waistcoat, a

riding coat, a night-gown (dressing-gown) 2 pair of breks, 4 pairs of stockings all old, 4 pairs of shoes, a mare, a watch, a pair of silver shoebuckles, 2 silver spoons, a penknife, a lanthorn, 3 wigs, 3 combs, 12 Holland shirts, of which 6 old, and 6 new, 8 coarse shirts all old." Then he mentions what he calls his cash in hand—but apparently all either owing by individuals who would not pay, or lent to persons unlikely to return it. Then comes his library, with such books as 'Mr. Gother upon the fasts, and his entertainments for Lent.' Then Oyle Boxes and Pyx, a little Crucifix, and a little cross with inscription Cath. Dun. This was his badge as Cathedral Prior to Durham to which he had been elected by his brethren. The next year he says "same as last time but my linen is much impaired." I have not time for further extracts, though much might be said.

The more we read of this period of later Penal Days the more we feel how well Canon Burton has described it, as "the wilderness through which Catholics had to pass between the Red Sea of Martyrdom and the Second Spring of the Promised Land."

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RENAN--THE MAN[1]

On February 27 of last year a small number of Intellectuals of the French capital gathered at the Sorbonne to commemorate the centenary of a man who some forty years ago was perhaps the most widely read author in Europe, Ernest Joseph Renan. Today he is almost forgotten, at least in the ranks of the international aristocracy of scholars. To quote him as authority in his own chosen field of research—early Christian history—would mean risking one's own reputation for scholarship. Yet to the historian and the student of concrete psychological phenomena Renan presents the interesting, if not always attractive problem of a personality uniting with apparent harmony the most contradictory qualities. Moreover, the charm of his style and the superficial plausibility of his conjectures still attract immature minds and still sow the seeds of religious scepticism.

Ernest Renan was born February 27, 1823, in Tréguier, a little medieval town that from the high hills of northern Brittany looks out dreamily upon the broad expanse of the English Channel. He was the youngest of three children. His paternal ancestors had been seafaring folk, and Ernest delights to dwell on his descent from a race of sailors and adventurers on the misty seas of the West. The grandfather had been an ardent patriot during the Revolution, but had sufficient self-respect to refuse the advantageous purchase of confiscated church property. Ernest's father was captain of a small sailing craft. When the boy was five years old the father's dead body was found on the seashore under circumstances that pointed to suicide. Dreamy and melancholy, he could achieve nothing in business or trade, and the only legacy he left to his little family was a heavy burden of debts. With remarkable courage Madame Renan shouldered the burden and assisted by her two older children gradually reduced it to tolerable proportions. In her veins flowed Gascon blood and her cheerful sanguine temperament betrayed her southern origin. Ernest always admired her for her vivacity, her wit and humor, and claimed to have inherited

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a goodly share. It would seem that his character was a mixture —not in every respect a happy one—of Breton dreaminess, love of isolation, and a southern capacity for facing the problems of life with smiling grace and gentle irony.

The young Ernest was not a normal boy. He seldom associated with boys of his own age, preferring to choose his playmates among the little girls of the neighborhood, which earned him from the slighted youngsters the sobriquet "Mademoiselle Renan." To Madam Renan and to admiring female relatives his shy reserve, his want of physical vigor, and above all his early love of books, predestined him for the sanctuary. He himself seems to have acquiesced in these plans without opposition. He tells us that he spent the most delightful hours of his boyhood in the soft dim light of the cathedral where he loved to fancy himself a priest at the high altar. Nevertheless, neither in those early years nor later at the seminary was he really devout and solidly pious. He came habitually late to the divine service and during it he indulged in pleasant day dreams. His vocation, such as it was, never made him look forward to a specifically priestly life. It grew out of a love of books, the pious wishes of his relatives, and his manifest unfitness for the calling of his ancestors. Even in these early years he never pictured himself as the future pastor of souls, but rather as a brilliant professor or possibly as the leading canon lawyer of the diocese.

Ernest received his early education in the clerical college of his native town. Ever afterwards he spoke of his first teachers with an affectionate regard though he has only a patronizing smile for what he terms their backwardness and simplicity. When fifteen years old he obtained through the good offices of his older sister a scholarship in the junior seminary of St. Nicolas du Chardonnet in Paris. He entered this institution for the fall term of 1838. The previous year the famous Dupanloup, the future bishop of Orlèans, had been appointed headmaster. The contagious enthusiasm of this gifted leader soon filled teachers and students with an ardent love for study. St. Nicolas was a preparatory school for the French seminaries. From all parts of France the most promising youths were sent there to receive an exceptionally thorough, liberal and literary education. It was felt that the most urgent need of the time was a clergy imbued

with culture and literary ability that would secure it a hearing outside of the narrow circle of the devout and untutored countryside. Literature, classical and modern, was studied with enthusiasm, especially the latter, its contemporary representatives Lamartine and even Micheloet not excluded. The shy and awkward little Breton felt the pangs of homesickness and for some time did not distinguish himself. But if later in life he became the incomparable master of French prose that he really was, he owes a large debt to the training he received at St. Nicolas.

After three and a half years he left this institution to take up the specifically clerical studies at the Grand Séminaire of St. Sulpice. The department of philosophy was then located at Issy near the suburbs of the capital, while the house of theology was in the city itself. Issy was a charming place, an old château of the seventeenth century surrounded by a splendid park, containing pretty lagoons and magnificent old trees. In their shade young Renan passed many a solitary hour, reading indiscriminately, debating with himself alone, and finally ending it all with doubting the most fundamental beliefs of his childhood. When in October, 1843, he was transferred to the city house for his theology his mind was already upset. The open avowal of his unbelief was to be merely a question of time. After some hesitation he consented to accept the Tonsure and Minor Orders. But on October 6, 1845, he descended for the last time the steps of the gray old building and exchanged his cassock for lay attire. It was just three days before Newman at Littlemore put an end to a wholly different mental struggle by making his submission to the Catholic Church. Renan was then twenty-three years of age.—What had happened? What factors had been at work to bring about this crisis in Renan's soul and its unhappy solution?

If we are to believe his Reminiscences[2] which he wrote as a sexagenarian it was during his theology that his faith suffered shipwreck, and biblical criticism was the cause of it. Is this an adequate answer? We think not. The letters that belong to this period tell a different story. Of especial importance are here the letters which passed between the young seminarian and his older sister Henriette,[3] practically the only person in whom

[1] *Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse.* English trans. by PITMAN.
[2] *Lettres à Henriette.* English trans. by LADY MARY LOYD.

he placed complete confidence. That extraordinary character would deserve a biography for herself. Naturally of an affectionate but melancholy and sombre temperament she had passed from a somewhat Jansenistic Catholicism to a vague deism of her own, hardly distinguishable from pantheism, and all that before her brother had made any of his doubts known to her. With the help of these letters which extend over the period 1842 to 1845 and with that of the above mentioned Reminiscences we can to some extent reconstruct the mental processes which resulted in the ultimate complete loss of faith.

Of external influences we may be brief. Renan came from a devout family, typically Breton in its ardent attachment to the faith of their forefathers. Still, it seems that in his childhood religion was presented to him in a somewhat sentimental and romantic form, partaking now and then of the superstitious and overemphasizing routine and devotionalism at the cost of simple solid instruction. Yet when he entered the seminary at Issy his faith seems to have been as sincere and unquestioning as when at the Breton seashore he listened to the legends and fairy tales of his old mother.—Undoubtedly his sister Henriette was the one person who exercised a notable influence on his religious development. True, she never suggested doubts, but she encouraged those of her brother, professing to see in them the signs of mental independence and sincere devotion to truth. Often enough in her letters she clearly and boldly formulated timidly expressed misgivings of her brother. And when she was convinced of Ernest's inward change she constantly urged him to take the last step and break the outward ties.

At the seminary the gifted young Breton, who was withal excessively timid and reserved, did not find in his superiors and teachers that spiritual insight and wise guidance, nor that profound learning and thorough acquaintance with modern thought that might have gained his confidence at the outset. This was especially true of his professors in philosophy. Descartes seems to have been the oracle to which teachers and pupils bowed. The great masters of scholasticism had fallen into disrepute. Never perhaps was the French Church less equipped to meet the onslaught of modern thought than when young Renan went through

his formative period at Issy and St. Sulpice.[4] At the latter house, indeed, Renan met one really superior man, Abbé Le Hir, his professor of exegesis. But it was too late. The young man had formed too many irrevocable judgments. Most of the professors were excellent men in their way, zealous, tactful, and of unblemished character. Throughout life Renan preserved a personal esteem for them. It is probably owing to the stainless character of these men that Renan, unlike so many other apostates, never indulged in personalities and "revelations" against the clergy. But it was a misfortune that at this period he did not find men of mental vigor and virility who could have taught him how to respect the domain of reason as well as revelation and would have shown him positively how the claims of both can be reconciled.

Another external influence which experience with so many apostates naturally suggests we may dismiss very briefly. Woman had nothing to do with the change. Unseemly marriage is often enough the first public act outside the fold. In Renan's case marriage followed eleven years later and was to all appearances a happy one. For once the old advice "cherchez la femme" leads to no clue.

But what took place in the interior of that soul? Why did the difficulties of which he speaks in almost every letter to Henriette finally triumph over the faith of his childhood? It is impossible to ignore one failing in the young seminarian which, though disguised under the most exquisite manners, is ever present in his letters and other personal documents. It is deep rooted pride of intellect. Already in the day dreams of the young student at Tréguier his own personality plays the part of a superior being. To his own ambitious eye he is destined to become a "Jupiter of the Olympus, that superior being who is the judge of all and himself is never judged." And at the end of his career he will exclaim: "I alone in my century have been able to understand Jesus Christ and St. Francis of Assisi."[5] ... "Henceforth I shall not learn anything really great, for I see fairly well how much truth any human mind can absorb."[6] If

[4] WILLIAM BARRY, *Ernest Renan*, pp. 25, 51.
[5] Reminiscences, p. 125.
[6] Reminiscences, p. 320.

you speak to him of antagonists of superior learning he will dismiss you with the contemptuous gesture, "Ah, these people have no critical minds." Renan's own mind is restless and curious, reaching out in all directions for information and objections, but lacking the energy and perseverance thoroughly to investigate one point and to think one line of thought to the end.—In philosophy he was soon enamored of Descartes and Malebranche, then attracted by the German specialists and subjectivists. He thinks Malebranche "the finest thinker and the most merciless logician that ever existed,"[7] and he asks his sister to undertake in his name a pilgrimage to the tomb of Kant at Königsberg.[8] During his course in philosophy objections to the thesis in question are his predilection, but they are not taken up to provoke mental effort, to labor until the truth shines forth more luminously than before. On the contrary, he is satisfied with having something to object, with forming the conviction that there are difficulties which should prevent him from giving his wholehearted assent to anything. That virility of mind which in face of difficulties is aroused to a determined effort to dispel obscurity is foreign to his mental complexion. Scepticism, so distasteful to the normal intellect, seems to have a special appeal to this restless and artistic mind that revels in contradictions and new impressions but is easily fatigued by prolonged reasoning along the same lines. Early in his course of philosophy he confesses to his sister that he is beset by doubts which he cannot solve."[9] Of course, he might have had recourse to other lights, but that seems to have been generally out of the question. At least in his letters there is no reference to a frank discussion of his metaphysical or theological difficulties with any one of his professors, though he often alludes to conversations with them on various topics. Of Abbé Le Hir he admits that this distinguished scholar was fully conversant with all the objections modern criticism had to offer.

Before the sceptical mind of the young seminarian there arose the formidable obstacle of faith, of dogma, which does not permit us, as Renan puts it, "indefinitely to caress our little

[7] Letters, p. 98.
[8] Letters, p. 78.
[9] Letters, p. 70.

thoughts." He realizes that the closer priesthood approaches the closer he comes to a definite outward and inward commitment to an irrevocable profession. He recoils from such a decisive step; he is afraid, as he tells Henriette in almost every letter, to lose his sweet liberty. By loss of liberty he means not so much outward compliance with the demands and wishes of ecclesiastical authority, as the necessity of giving up his sceptical attitude towards the fundamentals of faith, the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and the freedom of will. All these things have become mere hypotheses. And that was his mental state before he entered upon his course of apologetics at St. Sulpice. It is therefore not biblical criticism that destroyed his faith but a false philosophy. When the course begins his mind is made up: All arguments are mere illusions. Those that are impressed by these arguments have no scientific spirit. What is that scientific spirit? "The first condition of the scientific spirit," Renan says in his Reminiscences, "is to have no prior faith,"[10] and since his professors had that faith they had no scientific spirit. The fundamental axiom of all scientific work is the denial of the supernatural, the miraculous. This anti-spiritualism he states with all possible clearness in the preface to his *Vie de Jésus*: "It is not because it has been proved to me beforehand that the evangelists do not merit credence that I reject the miracles which they relate. It is because they tell of miracles that I say: The Gospels are legendary."[11] And elsewhere: "The supernatural, the miraculous, has no place in the scheme of things." These statements contain the final result of a development which began in his seminary days. If we add to this the fact that he never had a vocation to the priesthood, that he simply acquiesced in the general opinion of his future entertained by friends and relatives, we understand the outcome. When he definitely gives up his sacerdotal career he has only one regret: "Mama would have been so happy."

But has biblical criticism nothing to do with the change? As we stated before, when late in life he wrote his Reminiscences he considered it the principal cause of his loss of faith. In contemporary letters there is hardly an illusion to difficulties arising from the study of the Scriptures. In only one of them, the

[10] Reminiscences, p. 229.
[11] *Vie de Jesus*, 13th ed.

last he wrote from St. Sulpice, he complains of the impossibility of reconciling the orthodox interpretation of the Bible with the findings of modern science. It is possible that his professors were sometimes a little rash in assigning to a doubtful proposition the note de Fide. Renan asserts this of Abbé Le Hir. Unfortunately for his pupil, the lectures of Abbé Le Hir have been published, and he shows himself everywhere a rather cautious critic who rarely affirms a thesis which even the most advanced orthodox scholar would not admit. The real cause of Renan's biblical difficulties is his early prejudice against the supernatural which antedates his study of the Scriptures. At the utmost we may admit that occasional obscurities of the sacred text were to Renan an additional motive for abandoning his faith.

So much for the religious crisis and its unhappy ending. Renan's departure from St. Sulpice threw him on his own resources, or rather on those of his sister Henriette who had urged him to take the step which she had long forseen. His writings in learned magazines and the erudition he displayed in his first published works, the *Future of Science* and the *History of the Semitic Languages*, soon attracted attention. At the seminary he had been an ardent student of the oriental languages. In 1851 the chair of Hebrew at the Collège de France became vacant, and Renan applied for the position. President Louis Bonaparte did not wish to risk Catholic support by putting officially the Bible into the hands of an avowed infidel. Instead, he offered Renan a mission to the Orient to search for Phoenician antiquities. Renan accepted and in October 1860, accompanied by his sister, he sailed with a French expedition to the Orient. A year later he returned alone. Henriette had succumbed to the climate of the East. The results in Phoenician antiquities were insignificant, but Renan carried in his portfolio a manuscript which in his opinion outweighed anything that he could possibly find in the East. During his rambles there he had composed his *Life of Jesus*. After much polishing and toning down, as he says, he gave it to the world on June 23, 1863. Its success was immediate. Within six months eleven editions were sold and twenty-two more were to follow. To discuss it here adequately is of course impossible nor does it lie within the scope of this paper. Its metaphysical basis is famil-

iar to us: The Gospels present the supernatural as real, hence they are legendary. The exegesis is borrowed from the German rationalists, from Wellhausen, Ewald, Strauss, and others,—toned down and made palatable to a Parisian public by a soft sentimentalism that kisses the Master while it betrays Him. And all this is clothed in inimitable style that according to competent critics finds its equal only among the classics of Louis Quatorze. The book came opportunely; Conte, le Clerc, Cousin, the Rationalists and Positivists of the day had prepared the soil. True, very soon the luminaries of higher criticism on both sides of the Rhine uttered dignified disapproval, but the rank and file applauded vociferously: At last the fifth Gospel, the Gospel of modern thought had appeared. The harm it did was enormous. Yet even radical critics tell us that Renan has solved no problems, opened no new lines of thought, changed no theories. Apart from the unproved assumption that the supernatural is unreal, the whole might be refuted by the time-honored argument: Aut Christus est Deus aut non est bonus. The Christ of Renan, a combination of a sincere religious spirit, an enthusiast, and impostor, is an impossible being. It may, indeed, be questioned whether Renan, apart from his rationalistic preconceptions, was the man to undertake such a task. He had never known deep emotion nor suffering, his life was a pleasant amusing promenade of a typical Parisian esprit among the sunny lowlands of mankind. One good and lasting effect survived the great scandal of this book: The *Life of Christ* passed from the realm of technical theology into general literature, vindicating to itself an importance as the first in every sense of human biography and the center of all human history. Men again began to remember that which the earlier rationalists had almost succeeded in making them forget: It is impossible to explain the world without fixing one's gaze on Christ. He is again real to the present generation of thoughtful men, even to those who do not believe, as He never was to a Voltairian of the 18th century. No one understood this better than the Catholic scholars among Renan's countrymen. Life after Life followed, those of Didon, Le Camus, Fouard, etc., all aiming at restoring in the popular mind the Master's image so cruelly defaced by His former disciple.

With the remainder of Renan's life we may be brief. In 1870, on the eve of the Franco-Prussian War, he at last obtained the long coveted chair of Hebrew in the Collège de France and occupied it to the end. The war marks a turning point in Renan's mentality. The Commune, the corruption and scandals of the Third Republic gave his theories a rude shock. The regeneration of mankind, and in particular of France, was to follow apostacy from revelation and the substitution of pure science. Science there was, and apostacy too, but the negative results were only too patent. Renan, instead of opening his eyes to the real causes of national decadence, lost what little idealism he still possessed and turned more and more an amused cynic and universal sceptic. His more serious works, the History of Israel and Christian Origins, between which the Life of Jesus was to form the connecting link, found little recognition among scholars. In his Waters of Youth, the Priest of Nemi, and his Dialogues of the Dead, he descends to the market place, mocks virtue and condones sin, somewhat after the fashion of Voltaire, though with infinitely more grace. In his Abbesse of Jouarre he reaches the lowest depth. The end of all is voluptuous pleasure into which mankind will plunge eventually and be satisfied. Even Matthew Arnold reproaches him for watching with amused indulgence the worship of the goddess of Lubricity. The ardent and unhampered search for truth on which he prided himself in his earlier years has given way to despair of all truth. The true philosophy of life is hedonism, not indeed of the grosser kind, for that would offend against the conventions, but the amused ironical smile at the sins and follies of men.

In 1879 Renan obtained his seat among the forty Immortals. Four years later he was deputed by the Academy to give the welcoming address to another genius, Louis Pasteur. The contrast could hardly be greater. The one the great light in science whose faith grew with his scientific insight, the other at the last stage of a downward development: The religion of pure reason has failed, science cannot establish the moral order, perhaps the frivolous were right all the time.

The end was not far off. In the summer 1892 he went to his villa in Brittany where he spent a pleasant vacation. Suddenly his heart gave warning and he returned to Paris. A few years

before, he had, in his Reminiscences, protested in advance against any utterance of regret that old age or disease might extort from him. The regret did not come. On October 2 he died almost suddenly. The funeral was all the vainest could desire.— He had once expressed the wish that on his tomb might be inscribed the words: Veritatem dilexi. And yet, though he retained to the end that insatiable curiosity that made him interested in a hundred things, he shunned nothing more than truth. M. Séailles, one of his biographers, says finely: "He mistook indecision for love of truth. When he quitted St. Sulpice, it was not only the enthusiasm for truth that moved him, but the terror lest he should be committed beyond recall."[12] His love of truth ended in failure to find any truth, in which he had nothing to boast of but his own good-humored resignation. It is a remarkable instance of Vengeance Divine that Renan's grandson, the gifted young writer Ernest Psichari, found the truth and died on the battle field of the Great War a novice of the Order of St. Dominic.

Such was the downward course of one of the finest minds of 19th century France. Yet when all is said, we have to admit that much in this elusive character remains an enigma. We may admire a mental alertness, a manysided interest, and a detachment and objectivity that betray the true historian, but we are repelled by the ever growing fear of this historian to commit himself to any definite statement on even the most fundamental question of history and life, by a nerveless resolution of all truth into universal neutrality and vague indifference. And all this is cultivated as a fine art and a philosophy of life. Neither individuals nor nations can live in such a philosophy!

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[12] Apud. W. BARRY, *Ernest Renan*, p. 224.

SOME PAPAL PRIVILEGES OF THE ENGLISH BENEDICTINES

The importance of monasticism in the medieval church is too well known to need emphasis. To St. Benedict and his spiritual sons western Christendom owed an enormous debt; and the place that the monks held in the life and organization of the church was not incommensurate with their share in building up its structure. In relation to the whole ecclesiastical organism the monks occupied a position different from that of the secular clergy in that they came in contact with pope and diocesan bishop alike, looking toward Rome on the one hand and toward local authority on the other; though it must not be forgotten that the religious were a part of the church and not a separate body poised like Mohammed's coffin between two worlds. It is with one phase of the relations of the English Benedictines and the papacy that this article deals. The greater number of English Benedictine houses were under the jurisdiction of the bishops of the dioceses in which they were severally situated.[1] They had also relations with the see of Rome and many of them received from the popes privileges of various kinds which aimed at safeguarding their peculiar position and conferred upon them, as marks of special favor, particular liberties and immunities. The privileges here considered were among the more important of those granted to houses that were not exempt from episcopal jurisdiction.

The Benedictine Rule provided that the abbot of a monastery be elected by the general consent of the whole community or by the smaller and more discreet part of the community.[2] The freedom of a convent to choose its superior was regarded as a natural and inherent right. "Although originally the bishops could name the superiors or abbots of monasteries," says Thomassin, "it is none the less true that at a later date the imperial laws, the canons, and the Rule of St. Benedict gave to all

[1] On the relations of the monks to the diocesan episcopate, see my article, "The English Benedictines and their Bishops in the Thirteenth Century," *American Historical Review*, XXIV, 565-577.

[2] MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina*, LXVI, 879; ch. lxiv.

religious communities the liberty each to elect its own abbot; and this privilege was considered a natural liberty and a common right."[3]

Among the privileges granted to convents by the apostolic see were indults expressly authorizing the free election of the abbot. This authorization seems never to have been granted by itself; invariably it occurs as one of a number of privileges given or confirmed to a monastery. Over a score of English Benedictine houses received this privilege: Abingdon,[4] St. Albans,[5] Bardney,[6] Battle,[7] Bury St. Edmunds,[8] St. Augustine's, Canterbury,[9] Chertsey,[10] Chester,[11] Colchester,[12] Ely,[13] Evesham,[14] Glastonbury,[15] St. Peter's, Gloucester,[16] Hulme,[17] Luffield,[18] Malmesbury,[19] Peterborough,[20] Ramsey,[21] Rochester,[22] Sherbourne,[23] Walden,[24] Whitby[25] and Winchester.[26] Of these, the majority received the grant in the twelfth century, a few in the thirteenth. The phraseology of the indult received by Malmesbury from Pope Innocent II may be taken as typical "... liceat fratribus communi consilio vel parti consilii sanioris secundum Dei timorem et beati Benedicti regulam, absque ullius contradictione abbatem eligere." A somewhat lengthier formula was sometimes used such as this addressed by Eugenius III to the abbot of Ab-

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[3] THOMASSIN, *Ancienne et Nouvelle Discipline de l'Eglise*, I, iii, c. 32.
[4] DUGDALE, *Monasticon*, I, 522.
[5] Cottonian Ms. Claud. D. xiii, f. 31.
[6] Cott. Ms. Vesp. E. xx, f. 8.
[7] Cott. Ms. Vitell. D. ix, f. 92.
[8] *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, (R. S.), III, 78.
[9] *Hist. monast. S. Augustini Cantuar.*, (R. S.), p. 386.
[10] COCQUELINES, *Bullarium Privilegiorum*, II, 462.
[11] Br. Mus. Ms. Harleian 1965, f. 8.
[12] *Cartularium monasterii S. Johannis Baptistae de Colscestria*, (Roxburghe Club, 1897), I, 61.
[13] Br. Mus. Ms. Add. 9822, f. 98.
[14] Cott. Ms. Vesp. B. xxiv, f. 78.
[15] ADAM DE DOMERHAM, *Historia*, (ed. Thos. Hearne), II, 323-325.
[16] *Hist. et Cart. monast. S. Petri Gloucestriae* (R. S.), III, 1-4.
[17] Cott. Ms. Galba E. ii, f. 38.
[18] DUGDALE, *Monasticon*, IV, 348.
[19] *Registrum Malmesburiense*, (R. S.), I, 346.
[20] DUGDALE, *Monasticon*, I, 390.
[21] *Cart. monast. de Rameseia*, (R. S.), II, 155.
[22] Cott. Ms. Vesp. A. xxii, f. 64.
[23] COCQUELINES, *Bullarium*, II, 380.
[24] Ms. Harl. 3697, f. 73.
[25] *Whitby Chartulary*, (Surtees Soc.), I, 117.
[26] DUGDALE, *Monasticon*, I, 211.

ingdon: "Obeunte autem te, nunc eiusdem loci abbate, vel tuorum quolibet successorum nullus ibidem qualibet surreptionis astutia vel violentia praeponatur nisi quem fratres communi consensu vel fratrum pars consilii sanioris, secundum Dei timorem et beati Benedicti regulam canonice providerent eligendum."

If freedom of abbatial election was not only provided for in the Rule but was looked upon as a natural right, it seems strange that permission to choose their own superiors should be given by the papacy as a privilege to certain monasteries. It may be regarded, of course, as an authoritative recognition of a preexistent right rather than as a privilege; the words *secundum beati Benedicti regulam* would, perhaps, imply as much. But why should such a natural liberty and common right require authoritative confirmation? The natural inference is that attempts were made to interfere with freedom of election; that some power, secular or ecclesiastical, was usurping or wished to usurp the power of choosing the abbots. We know that it was the custom in England for the monasteries that were not exempt from episcopal jurisdiction to ask from the diocesan confirmation of their abbatial elections; but there seems little or no reason to think that the bishops attempted to interfere with a community's right freely to elect its own abbot, though there were cases in which the diocesan withheld his confirmation for reasons that to him seemed sufficient.[27] It may be that the grant of the privilege of free election was intended to serve as a safeguard against the possibility of episcopal encroachments on the liberties of religious communities; but that is an assumption that appears in the main to lack the support of evidence.

If attempts to control abbatial elections and to deprive monasteries of their freedom therein did not come from the bishops, the source from which they could originate was the king. The greater abbots were feudal lords as well as churchmen, and it would not be unnatural for the king to wish to have some part in their election. Examples of the royal influence in abbatial elections are not uncommon. An instance to point is told at length in the chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelond, monk of

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[27] See, e. g., *Rotuli Grosseteste* (Cant. and York Soc. 1913), p. 325; *Register of Walter Giffard*, (Surtees Soc. 1904), p. 217 *et seq.*

Bury St. Edmunds, in his account of the election of the abbot Samson.[28] With the machinery of the election,—the choice of a small group of electors by whose decision the convent agreed to abide, the nomination of nine candidates, and the process of elimination that resulted ultimately in the choosing of Samson,—we are not concerned. What is of interest is the fact that the king was in full control of the situation; the convent recognized that the election must be satisfactory to him.

The monks were not sure that they would be allowed to elect. "As concerned the choice of an abbot, assuming the king gave us free election, divers men spoke in divers ways." A command came from the king that the prior and twelve of the brethren appear before him to make choice of an abbot. "But one said, 'What shall be done if these thirteen cannot agree before our lord the king in the choice of an abbot?' A certain one answered that 'that would be to us and to our church a perpetual shame.' Therefore many were desirous that the choice should be made at home before the rest departed, so that by this forecast there should be no disagreement in the presence of the king. But that seemed a foolish and inconsistent thing to do without the king's assent; for as yet it was by no means certain that we should be able to obtain free election from the king." And when it was decided that the seniors of the convent should present the names of three men as candidates, "The prior asked, 'How shall it be if our lord the king will not receive any of those three whose names are nominated?' And it was answered that whomsoever our lord the king would be willing to accept would be adopted provided he were a professed monk of our house.... It was moreover provided that if our lord the king should desire to make a stranger our abbot, such person should not be adopted by the thirteen unless upon consent of the brethren remaining at home."

That in this particular case the king accepted the election of a member of the community does not alter the fact that the election was not made without interference. At every step the convent and their electors were careful to do what they thought would be satisfactory to the king.

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[28] *Cronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*, (Camden Soc. 1840), p. 12 *et seq;* I quote Sir Ernest Clark's translation, (London, 1903).

The election of abbot Samson took place in the last quarter of the twelfth century, in the year 1182; but the unfreedom of which it is an example is found earlier nor does it disappear with the thirteenth century. In 1044 the abbot of Evesham had been chosen by Edward the Confessor: "Mannius huius ecclesiae monachus a Aeduardo secundo videlicet anno regni eius eligitur."[29] A generation later the Conqueror designated as abbot of that house Walter who had been archbishop Lanfranc's chaplain: "Misit rex huc quendam monachum de monasterio quod vocatur Cerasia, Walterum nomine....qui fuit capellanus Lanfranci archiepiscopi. Hic vero abbas effectus."[30] In 1191 there became abbot of Evesham one Roger *nullius monasterii monachus*, against whom the complaint was made to the papal legate over twenty years later, in 1213, that he had been appointed by the king and not elected by the convent: "per regiam potestatem intrusit se, non electus conventu isto."[31] Such a case of royal appointment was not unprecedented. According to Ralph de Diceto the abbots of ten monasteries were chosen by Henry II in 1175. "Vacantium abbatiarum priores cum magna parte conventuum sub edicto vocati sunt apud Wdstoc viii idus Julii. Rex igitur, habito tractatu cum archiepiscopo, cum episcopis, sic in abbatibus substituendis canonum observavit censuram, ut emendicatis aliunde suffragiis uteretur arbitrans forsitan, quod si de corpore proprio locis in singulis crearentur pastores, regiae dignitatis auctoritas vacillaret; motum in electionibus alienum sequens non proprium."[32] The houses over which abbots were thus placed were St. Augustine's, Battle, Hyde, Abingdon, Hulme, Westminster, Thorney, Crowland, Shrewsbury, Abbotsbury, and Muchelney.

There were various ways in which the royal pressure could be exercised in an abbatial election and pressure brought to bear in such wise that the royal candidate would be chosen. Magna Charta promised in its first chapter that elections should be free; evidence of royal control over elections is so plentiful after 1215, however, that one can only conclude that the promise was re-

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[29] *Chron. abbatiae de Evesham*, (R. S.), p. 86.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 96.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 241.
[32] RALPH DE DICETO, *Opera*, (R. S.), I, 401.

garded as not binding. Royal permission to elect was sought by the monks and granted by the king at his pleasure; the royal assent to an election was made known to the tenants of the abbey and signified to the ecclesiastical authorities. Throughout the long reign of Henry III the Benedictine houses deprived by death or resignation of their superiors asked permission of the king to fill the vacancies just as they had done in the long reign of his grandfather.

"The prior and convent of Malmesbury have letters of license to elect their pastor because the abbey is vacant through the death of Walter formerly its abbot."[33]

"The prior and convent of Tavistock have letters of license to elect an abbot by Ralph le Young, Walter le Bald, and Geoffrey de Plimton, monks of their house, who came to court to ask for such a license."[34]

Such entries are of frequent occurrence in the patent rolls of the reign of Henry III, nor does there seem to have been any change made in this regard in the reign of Edward I. Royal permission was still required for an election.

"License to them (the prior and convent of Peterborough) to elect an abbot on news being brought in letters patent of the chapter by William de Wodeford, one of the monks, of the death of Robert de Sutton their abbot."[35]

"Signification to the bishop of Norwich of the royal assent to the election of Nicholas de Esteneston, one of the monks, elected prior (of Hulme)."[36]

The requirement of the *conge d'elire* and of the royal assent if not in themselves inconsistent with that freedom of election for which the Rule of St. Benedict and the papal privileges made provision, at any rate gave the king an opportunity to prevent free election if he so desired. The fact, too, that at the death of an abbot the temporalities of the house were taken possession of by the king's stewards to be retained by them until the royal assent had been given to the new abbot's election increased the amount of pressure that the king might exert on any election

[33] *Cal. patent rolls 1216-1225*, p. 349.
[34] *Cal. patent rolls 1232-1247*, p. 15.
[35] *Cal. patent rolls 1272-1281*, p. 45.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

that he wished to influence. The wide scope of abbatial authority made free election a matter of great moment to monasteries; the exercise of royal influence in connection with elections was a grave interference with monastic autonomy. The inclusion of freedom of election among the privileges granted by the apostolic see to religious communities, while apparently unsuccessful in securing this freedom, was evidence of the alliance of the monks and the papacy and a protest against the intervention of secular power in matters ecclesiastical.

Another natural right of great importance was that of receiving into the convent all fit persons who applied for admission. Only by drawing constantly from the outside world could the membership, indeed the very existence, of a community be maintained. Yet obstacles might be placed in the way of anyone who wished to enter the religious life: a bishop might object to losing the services of a clerk who desired to leave the ranks of the seculars and be numbered among the regular clergy; similarly—and *a priori* this was more likely to happen—the obligations or what were assumed to be the obligations of the world could easily so operate as to prevent a layman from entering a monastery.[37] The desire to end one's days in monastic habit was widespread; but it did not necessarily follow that people were willing that their sons or their daughters or their vassals should enter religion while still able to play a part in the secular life.[38]

A number of English Benedictine houses[39] had papal permission freely to receive clerks and laymen fleeing from the world. The wording of the permission varies but little in the different papal bulls. "Liceat vobis clericos vel laicos liberos et absolutos a saeculo fugientes ad conversionem recipere ac eas absque contradictione alipua retinere."[40] Occasionally additions were made to the permission to receive members into the community. Ur-

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[37] POLLOCK and MAITLAND, *Hist. English Law*, I, 407 *et seq.*

[38] HAUREAU, J. B., *Histoire de la philosophie scolastique*, (Paris, 1877), II, i, 339.

[39] Abingdon, Bardney, Chertsey, Colchester, Ely, Evesham, Glastonbury, Gloucester, Hulme, Luffield, Peterborough, Ramsey, Stokes, Walden, Whitby, and Winchester.

[40] From the Chertsey indult: P. R. O. King's Remembrancer Misc. Bk. 25, f. 12.

ban IV granted to the abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and to the abbot of Walden, the right to absolve from sentence of suspension, excommunication, or interdict anyone who wished to join the convent; the prior of Bath obtained the same privilege from Innocent III, and the abbot of St. Mary's, York, from Innocent IV.[41] Restrictions likewise were placed on the exercise of this right. The privilege given to Ely by Gregory IX contained the provision that none should be professed without the prior's license; obviously a direction issued with a view toward upholding the internal discipline of the house; the convent of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, was forbidden to receive boys under fifteen years of age;[42] more noteworthy was the mandate addressed by Innocent III to the abbot and convent of Malmesbury: "... districtius inhibemus ne huiusmodi pravos et inlitteratos monachos de cetero taliter admittatis."[43]

The right of a convent to receive into its fellowship persons wishing to escape from the world did not mean liberty to receive members of any order or house other than its own. A professed monk was not allowed by the Benedictine Rule to leave his monastery save by permission of his abbot[44] so another house in receiving a monk who had left without his superior's permission would be partner to his disobedience. Trouble arose from a case somewhat of this sort in the last decade of the thirteenth century between the Benedictines of Westminster and the Franciscans.[45]

William de Persore, a Franciscan, left the Friars Minor and was received by the monks of Westminster who refused to give him up. Threatened with excommunication by the archbishop of Canterbury, they appealed to Rome. Judgment was delivered against them; they were required, under heavy penalties, to ac-

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[41] Cott. Ms. Claud. D. x, f. 31; Ms. Harl. 3697, f. 78; Bliss, *Cal. papal registers* I, 230.

[42] Cott. Ms. Claud. D. x, f. 46; by Alexander III.

[43] *Reg. Malmesb.*, p. 376.

[44] See the discussion of *stabilitas* in BUTLER, *Benedictine Monachism* (London, 1919), pp. 123-134. The provision that no monk shall leave his cloister is of frequent occurrence in papal privileges. A command to the archbishop's official to warn a monk that he must return is in *Reg. epist. Peckhan*, (R. S.), p. 933.

[45] Documents relating to the case are among the muniments of Westminster; they are summarized in Hist. Mss. Comm. *Report*, IV, 178-79.

knowledge publicly the right of the Franciscans to receive William de Persore back; they had to restore the books that the "apostate" had brought with him; and the abbot had to attend the next chapter of the Friars Minor and make peace with his adversaries. Three years more passed, spent apparently in appeals, before the matter was finally settled by the abbot of Westminster paying sixty marks to the Franciscan houses at Winchelsea and Litchfield, and the Franciscans giving up all instruments relating to the controversy. One would gather from this case that it was at risk of considerable trouble and expense that a monastery received as a member one who had no business to be there. But it must be remembered that William de Persore of the Order of Friars Minor took other people's books as well as himself to the Benedictine abbey of Westminster.

The monastic orders held throughout England a large number of parishes in which they did not themselves serve but which were entrusted to the ministrations of secular clergy. Some of the Benedictine monasteries received from the holy see license to elect to their parishes and to present to the bishop for institution clerks who, if fit persons, should receive from the bishop the cure of souls and be responsible to him for the spiritualities and to the monks for the temporalities of their parishes.[46] From some churches the convents received portions of particular tithes; from others, annual pensions; yet other churches were held by the monks *in proprios usus*, that is, they were appropriated to the monasteries to aid them in maintaining hospitality, or to provide lights for the altar, or for some other estimable and pious purpose. A typical case was the church of Great Cowarne which was appropriated to St. Peter's abbey, Gloucester, *ad luminaria et ornamenta ecclesiae beati Petri invenienda*.[47] Often the clerk who was placed by a convent in an appropriated church was not only poorly paid but was required himself to pay the fees, procurations, and synodals.[48] So eager were the monasteries to have churches appropriated to them that in 1261

[46] St. Albans, Bardney, St. Augustine's, Chester, Colchester, St. Martin's (Dover), Hulme, St. Nicholas (Exeter), Malmesbury, Rochester, Stokes, Tavistock, Walden, Westminster, and Whitby.

[47] *Registrum Thomae de Cantilupo*, (Cant. and York Soc. 1907), p. 49.

[48] See, e. g., *Reg. Grosseteste*, pp. 252, 275.

Alexander IV thought it necessary to appoint a commission of five bishops to make inquiry into this form of monastic cupidity and to apply fitting remedies.[49]

The terms of the indults required that the clergy presented for institution be fit persons, and a bishop had the right to reject any presentee who was unfit. This episcopal right seems to have been exercised at times to the prejudice of the monasteries. Alexander III issued a bull directing the bishops in whose dioceses Bury St. Edmunds held churches to receive the abbey's appointees;[50] and Innocent III sent to the archbishop of Canterbury a letter pointing out that in Alexander III's time there had been trouble concerning institutions to livings in the presentation of St. Augustine's, and commanding the archbishop that the abbot and convent be given no further trouble on that score.[51]

Refusal on the part of diocesans to institute the clerks whom the monks presented was not the only difficulty that they faced in exercising their rights as patrons of livings. Papal provisions affected them as they affected other holders of advowsons. To some monasteries the hardship involved in granting benefices to aliens for whom the holy see wished a benefice to be provided was lessened by permission from Rome to disregard all papal provisions save such as made explicit mention of that very indult. Bardney,[52] Bury St. Edmunds,[53] St. Augustine's, Canterbury,[54] Evesham,[55] Eynsham,[56], Glastonbury,[57] Hulme,[58] Reading,[59] Peterborough,[60] and Walden[61] each had such a grant.

The license to present clerks for institution was little other than the confirmation of a pre-existent right; although its importance may be seen, rather, in the approval that it gave by

[49] BLISS, *Cal. papal registers*, I, 375.
[50] Br. Mus. Ms. Add. 14847, f. 6.
[51] P. R. O. King's Remembrances Mis. Bk. 27, f. 116.
[52] Cott. Ms. Vesp. E. xx, f. 28.
[53] Br. Mus. Ms. Add. 14847, f. 84.
[54] Cott. Ms. Claud. D. x, f. 22.
[55] Ms. Harl. 3763, f. 103.
[56] *Eynsham Cartulary*, (Oxford Hist. Soc. 1907-08), I, 297.
[57] Bodl. Ms. Wood I, f. 63.
[58] Cott. Ms. Galba E. ii, f. 41.
[59] Cott. Ms. Vesp. E. xxv, f. 222.
[60] Br. Mus. Ms. Egerton 2733, f. 118.
[61] Ms. Harl. 3697, f. 72.

implication to the system by which benefices were appropriated to monasteries. Such confirmations could be and were granted by the papacy at no cost to itself. The permission to disregard papal provisions was, on the contrary, a grant made by the apostolic see to preserve the financial rights of the monasteries, even though this decreased materially the number of benefices and the income at its own disposal.

A privilege different from those already mentioned, yet like them of some moment in carrying on undisturbed the normal conventual life, was that of holding services in time of interdict. The value of the privilege is obvious. To the Benedictine the recitation of the divine office was the "work of God," *opus Dei*, and if that were stopped the monk's chief occupation would be gone. "The proper and distinctive work of the Benedictine, his portion, his mission, is the liturgy," as a commentator on the Rule puts it.[62] The conditions under which a convent was excepted from the operation of a general interdict seem always to have been the same. "Cum autem generale interdictum terre fuerit, liceat vobis clausis januis, excommunicatis et interdictis exclusis, non pulsatis campanis, suppressa voce, divina officia celebrare."[63] Almost word for word this appears in a score or more of papal grants and confirmations.[64] The rigor of the interdict laid on England in 1208 was mitigated somewhat for all religious houses. In 1209 on petition of the archbishop of Canterbury a mandate was issued by the pope to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to license conventual churches to consecrate the Eucharist once a week, notwithstanding the interdict.[65]

In certain of the indults appears a condition that is not without interest:[66] the privilege is in force only if the convent to

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[62] Quoted in BUTLER, *Benedictine Monachism*, p. 30.

[63] DUGDALE, *Monasticon*, II, 232-233.

[64] Examples may be found in the printed cartularies and chronicles of St. Albans, Bury St. Edmunds, St. Augustine's, St. Peter's Gloucester, Malmesbury—all in the Rolls Series—and in those of Battle, (Anglia Christiana Soc. 1846), Colchester, (Roxburgh Club 1897), and Whitby, (Surtees Soc. 1879).

[65] BLISS, *Cal. papal registers*, I, 32.

[66] Those of Chertsey, (P. R. O. King's Rem. Misc. Bk. 25, f. 12); Glastonbury, (Bodl. Ms. Wood I, f. 62); and Walden, (Ms. Harl. 3697, f. 73). The interdict placed on all England by archbishop Theobald was disregarded by St. Augustine's, for which the monks were later excommunicated by the archbishop. After appeal to Rome they were compelled to submit. *Gervase of Canterbury*, (R. S.), I, 136.

which it is granted had not furnished cause for the imposition of the interdict, *dummodo causam non dederitis interdicto*. Such a qualification suggests that the religious were not always over scrupulous in their observance of ecclesiastical law; it bears witness to the well-known fact that the clergy disregarded interdicts rather than allow the sentence to interfere with their normal course of life.

Another privilege received by monasteries from the apostolic see was that of interment in their own burial-ground of persons who were not members of the community and who would in the natural course of events find their last resting-place in the parish cemeteries. This privilege was valued partly because it so operated as to make the monastery extraparochial, but chiefly because it resulted in increased revenues and endowments. "Burial dues, i. e. fees for breaking ground, for wakes, for tolling the bell, and all dues for the dead" were a regular source of clerical revenue;[67] funerals were among the functions which a priest was forbidden to perform for anyone belonging to another parish;[68] and infringement of this rule was likely to lead to altercation and even to violent conflicts.[69] By acquiring the right of sepulture a monastery gained not only a source of revenue in the burial dues but also an opportunity to obtain endowments the income from which would pay for the anniversary requiems and other commemorations of those buried within the monastic precincts.

The wish to be buried within the bounds of a monastic house was anything but uncommon; it was the next best thing to ending one's days in the religious habit; and it assured one of the suffrages of the convent, an assurance that in the minds of some was tantamount to a guarantee of everlasting bliss. "I cannot suppose," says William of Malmesbury, of those buried at Glastonbury, "that any of these when dead can fail of heaven when

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[67] REICHEL, "Churches and Church Endowments," *Trans. Devonshire Ass'n.* XXXIX, 369.

[68] MARCHEGAY, "Le droit de sepulture," *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 3 serie, V, 528.

[69] See *Cart. S. Petri Glouc.* (R. S.) nos. ccccxxxvii-viii cf. Charte de l'abbaye de Saint-Nicolas, quoted by Marchegay, *loc. cit.* Pope Clement III forbade the monks of Faversham to bury parishioners in their cemetery, Cott. Ms. Claud. D. x, ff. 33-34.

assisted by the virtues and intercessions of so many patrons."[70]

While the privilege of sepulture was not uncommon,[71] the rights of the parish churches seem always to have been carefully safeguarded. A decree of Alexander III, subsequently incorporated into the Decretals of Gregory IX, provided that if anyone during the course of the illness of which he died bequeathed his body and his goods to a monastery, his parish church should yet have its canonical share. Innocent III repeated this ruling with the added provision that if those who possessed the burial privilege should bury anyone who had not expressed a wish to that effect, they were bound to refund whatever they had received for the service.[72] More than that, virtually every papal bull granting the burial privilege to a monastery contains a clause saving the rights of the mother-church.[73] The privilege never operated to include the burial of excommunicates,[74] and it seems to have been suspended in time of general interdict.[75] This privilege cannot be regarded as one of those that infringed on diocesan rights, nor yet as one necessary for carrying on the religious life. It was a liturgical privilege, valued primarily because it produced revenue.

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[70] WARREN, "Glastonbury Abbey" in *Proc. Clifton Antiq. Club*, II, 224; a paraphrase apparently of a sentence in "De antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiae," *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXIX, 1092.

[71] In the 13th. century it was possessed, by Abingdon, Bardney, Battle, Bynham, Burton on Trent, St. Augustine's, Chertsey, Chester, Colchester, St. Martin's (Dover), Ely, Evesham, Glastonbury, Gloucester, Hulme, Peterborough, Ramsey, Sherbourne, Stokes, and Walden.

[72] Decret. Greg. IX, lib. iii, tit. 28, c. 4.

[73] I have found but two exceptions: Abingdon, (Cott. Ms. Claud. C. ix, f. 57) and St. Augustine's, (Cott. Ms. Claud. D. x, f. 14).

[74] "Nisi forte excommunicati sint" is a qualification regularly found.

[75] KREHBIEL, *The Interdict*, p. 17.

MISCELLANY

WHY STUDY HISTORY?[1]

The extreme popularity of historical studies in the present academic generation is attested by a multitude of phenomena. History faculties are overworked; the output of doctrinal dissertations on the minutiæ of the past is staggering to the bibliographer; primary and secondary school text-books are in a constant state of revision; and even the general publishers have found that such books as Mr. Well's *Outline*, or Mr. Van Loon's *Story of Mankind* are as popular as most works of fiction. But this hubbub must not obscure the fact that the theoretical justification of the historical discipline itself is not easy to find.

Various efforts have been made by speculative minds to explain why the past should be studied. It was formerly supposed, for example, that statesmen, and even simple citizens, might learn from the experience of their progenitors what sort of political conduct was likely to produce favorable results in the future. Nowadays this theory has fallen into such disrepute that it is unsafe even to refer to the "lessons of history." One cynical professor has vouchsafed the opinion that the man who declares history has taught him anything, only proves that history has taught him nothing.

Again, we are told that history can be made to foster patriotism, and should therefore find a place in every educational curriculum from the kindergarten upwards. But for this purpose, history may prove a boomerang, for the annals of no nation are quite free from discreditable elements. "My country! In her dealings with foreign nations may she always be in the right. But my country, right or wrong!" Thus Stephen Decatur, according to popular attribution; and the words might well be recited in every class in national history before beginning the day's recitation.

Or else, someone informs us that the present is incomprehensible to those to whom the past is a closed book. "*Rerum cognoscere causas*" has been made the ambitious legend of at least one recent history text-book. Its author perhaps remembered not only Lucretius but the doggerel

> "Professor Melchisedech Moses
> Who studied the Wars of the Roses,
> And the reasons for things:
> Why the Indians wear rings
> In their long aboriginal noses."

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[1]Published by courtesy of the editor of *The Placidian*.

At all events, a certain young and inexperienced teacher was so fired by this theory that she undertook to draw up a chart to show her class the causes for the discovery of America. After the chart looked like the plan of a disorderly railway terminus, she decided to be satisfied if she could persuade her children to remember that Columbus was responsible, cause unknown, in 1492.

Finally, a more subtle and appealing argument is advanced that the facts of history are to be the raw material from which we may construct a philosophy of life. Yet when we apply the empirical test we discover that most secular historians at any rate incline to the opinion that "nothing is true, and nothing matters." It is after examining these and other speculative justifications that one is tempted to join Mr. Henry Ford in the masculine protest that "history is bunk."

Of course it is one thing to justify the historic discipline, and another to explain why the popular mind justifies it, nay, is passionately attached to it. It may at least be noted that inexact thinking is the curse of the present age, and that there is no better field for thinking inexactly with impunity than the historical. Furthermore, that chiefest flower of inexact thought, the popular philosophy of evolution, flourishes with peculiar exuberance in a soil well fertilized with a mixture of historical data. Not long ago, an undergraduate in one of our most learned universities, after an ineffectual effort to find precedents for some contemporary political phenomenon, concluded his thesis with the sapient sentence: "This situation is the result of evolution; and evolution has no precedent."

The Catholic scholar is not to be blamed if he approaches this welter of ideas and near-ideas a little charily. Mr. Edgar Lee Masters says of his "Father Malloy" in the *Spoon River Anthology* that he was "part of and related to a great past....like a traveller who brings a little box of sand from the wastes around the pyramids and makes them real, and Egypt real." So it is of all Catholics. History is peculiarly dear to them for it is filled with the records of their heroic comrades in the struggle for sanctity against the devil and against the world. How many names of the men whom the world itself indeed delights to honor are enshrined forever in the sacred liturgy of the Church! The Catholic scholar has every reason to turn his energies to the study of the past; yet he is not likely to find in the non-catholic schools of thought a *point d'appui* from which to commence his researches.

For the Catholic is certainly not going to be tempted by the alluring prospect of emitting a "philosophy of history." The fragmentary and ill-authenticated premises which the annals of the past provide are a poor substitute for divine revelation as a means of explaining the ends of creation, or of charting the path of virtue. Nevertheless the temptation is always great to abandon exposition for argument, to attempt to express a philosophy of supernatural origins in a medium of purely natural materials. The instant the historian ceases to be objective, he declines into the pamphleteer.

Similarly the Catholic scholar will fight shy of those cheap generali-

zations called the "lessons of history." He will prefer to leave to the apologist the important but special task of defending the holiness of the Church against the charges of her academic enemies. Nor will he waste much time in following the will-o'-the-whisp of causation, for this is to trespass upon the territory occupied already quite adequately by the metaphysician.

What then, in the last analysis is to be the Catholic's reason for studying history at all? One can do no more in this brief paper than suggest an answer to this truly knotty question. From year to year, and from age to age the exterior circumstances of humanity vary immensely. So indeed does the actual body of humanity itself. Surely one can say that practically the entire population of the earth is replaced every century. Whether there be progress or retrogression, there is certainly always change. In the midst of this *melée* of inconstant data, whose inconstancy seems to render futile every effort at exact thought, is it not possible to identify some single permanent factor, the study of which will really bear intellectual fruit? May it not be considered axiomatic that the functioning of the human soul, the mind, that is, and the emotions, within recorded history provides this much desired constant? Languages vary; the body of science varies; the environment varies; even the sum total of explicit theological knowledge has been subject to many accretions. Yet, *mutatis mutandis*, the human mind and the human emotions are always seen at work in the same way upon materials of the greatest diversity.

Furthermore the historian who centres his attention upon the study of the thought and feeling of past epochs is in a position superior to that of his fellows who attempt to penetrate to the actual environment that lies behind the record. For the documents which come to the former are first hand evidence as to the sort of mind that conceived and composed them, while to the latter they are only second hand, and hence partly invalid as evidence to begin with. Thus it has often been pointed out that newspapers can never be trusted as an actual record of past events; but newspapers can always be trusted as a record of a past state of mind.

And why should this type of "interior" history be especially recommended to Catholic scholars? Because we live in an age which is convinced that now for the first time, the human mind is functioning properly. The modern man is vaguely under the impression that to pay any attention to the thought and feeling of Greeks, or Jews, or Romans, or men of the middle ages, or of the renaissance is, in a way, to go to school to savages. It eminently behoves the Catholic to prove to this generation that the contemporaries of our Lord, or of St. Augustine, or of St. Thomas, or of St. Ignatius Loyola, or of St. Alphonsus Liguori were not untutored barbarians whose views of life may be dismissed out of hand as antiquated.

This programme of studies far exceeds in scope a history of "philosophy," in the narrow sense. Legal theory, political theory, the interpenetration of national cultures, vulgar opinions and superstitions, educational methods, literary and artistic tastes, liturgy, mystical thought, the critical

spirit: these and many other phases of the work of the human soul await investigation.

Perhaps this paper could best be concluded with a concrete illustration of how such a history will carry its own justification for Catholics. The middle age is not infrequently called the "Age of Faith," either in contempt, or in a sort of romantic envy of the supposed gullibility of the people of those times. There is abundant evidence easily available to show that mankind as a whole was no more gullible then than it is today, that there was a plentiful admixture of the critical spirit, a good measure of skepticism, not a little atheism, and quantities of heresy. How humiliating for this superior generation to learn that it had discovered none of these interesting negations! And how encouraging to those who hope that the ancient and modern Faith may spread and flourish, to witness the reappearance of humility!

Let the Catholic historian, then, join with holy Job in saying to his learned contemporaries: "Are you then men alone, and shall wisdom die with you?"

Br. J. S. Aidan Baldwin.

CHRONICLE

The piety and munificence of an American Catholic layman is to be the chief instrument in the rehabilitation of the ancient College of the Irish Franciscans at Louvain, one of the most glorious monuments to earlier Irish learning and zeal. Erected three centuries ago through the gift of a king, the college was suppressed in 1797 and has since been only a memory.

The distinguished American layman who has taken on himself this great work in the interest of Catholic learning is Marquis Martin Maloney, of Philadelphia. His philanthropy and deep interest in education already are exemplified in large gifts to the Catholic University of America.

One hundred and twenty-seven years ago, January 8, 1797, the College of the Irish Franciscans at Louvain met the fate of all the religious institutions within the boundaries of the First French Republic; it was ruthlessly suppressed, after an existence of 191 years, and its inmates were dispersed by the newly-fledged apostles of "liberty, equality, fraternity."

Sold at public auction April 22 of the same year, the house was bought back again by the Guardian, the Rev. James Gowan, with scripts received from the spoliators by himself and his religious brethren for their share in the property. As the university, with which the college had been connected, had not yet reopened its doors in 1822, Father Gowan disposed of the property that year in favor of the Catholic missions of Great Britain. In 1830 it became a Brothers' school for children of the poor, and it has continued as such to this day.

The Franciscan College was the first of those three Louvain colleges which a noted historian has called "a proud and lasting monument of the learning and zeal of the Irish nation."

Of the "Pastoral College," which trained secular priests for the Irish missions, nothing remains now but two stones set in the garden wall of one of the houses that replaced the school buildings razed in the year 1835.

Of the study house of the Irish Dominicans, founded in 1626, as was also the "Pastoral College," the sole vestige left is the name of a street—"Rue des Dominicains Irlandais"—where the institution had its last refuge. The buildings were demolished in 1799-1800.

Lovers of the past acquainted with the achievements of the Irish race can best conceive the feelings of the sons of St. Francis upon the eve of the return of some of theirs to a house linked with the most glorious annals of their order during two centuries.

A king, Philip III. of Spain, urged thereto by an Irish prelate, Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam, contributed the funds for the erection of that house three centuries agone; an American citizen, Marquis Maloney, of Philadelphia, under the inspiration of another Irish prelate, Monsignor J. Ryan, late president of the Seminary of Thurles, is to contribute the funds for the restoration of the hallowed premises to the legitimate

successors of the noble men who made it illustrious by their faith, their learning, their unbounded zeal—all for the service of their people and of their religion.

A proof of the sympathetic esteem enjoyed by the first Franciscans from Ireland who dwelt in the Louvain House of Study was the presence, May 9, 1617, at the corner-stone laying of their chapel, dedicated to St. Anthony, of the beloved rulers of the country, Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella. The princes were not deceived in the men who had provoked this manifestation of their good will. They furnished proofs sufficient of their superior worth and of their activity. While the teachers achieved renown through their contributions to the stores of the Sacred Sciences, of philosophy and of history, the pupils imbued themselves with faith and zeal as well as with knowledge—to meet the persecutions and tortures that awaited them at home, to bring the strayed sheep back to the fold, and to keep the light of eternal truth, despite the fury of the English tyrants to extinguish it, shining brightly in their native land.

To Father Bonaventura O'Hussey, under whose presidency the college began its long career of usefulness, Hibernia owes the first book printed in Irish characters—a catechism of the Christian doctrine published at Louvain in 1608.

Father Ward (1647) made the college which was his home the centre of the Irish School of Archeology, and began there the publication of the "Lives of the Irish Saints," of which the two first volumes appeared in 1645-1647. His principal co-laborers in that monumental work were Father Patrick Fleming and Brother Michael O'Clery. Of the latter, Dr. Thomas d'Arcy Magee wrote: "He is one of the greatest benefactors his country ever saw." At the risk of his life, he spent fifteen years, stealing from place to place in Ireland, in search of documents bearing on the lives of his country's heroes and saints.

He copied or purchased all the ancient manuscripts he could lay hands upon, and forwarded to Louvain the results of his labors—labors punishable with death. In St. Anthony College they were collated and arranged for publication first by Father Ward, and afterwards by Father John Colgan. Brother O'Clery thus saved from the night of oblivion some of the noblest records of the Green Isle's glorious past; for almost all the handwritings that he copied were ruthlessly destroyed during the wars and persecutions that followed. He is one of the authors of "The Annals of the Four Masters," the masterpiece of the Gaelic literature of the epoch.

Of this Irish Franciscans' College upon the continent, Father Van Langendonck could write in 1667, fifty years after its foundation: "It has given to the Church three Archbishops, four Bishops, two superiors general, eight provincials, fourteen doctors in theology and philosophy, more than 112 professors, preachers, missionaries." All those men had gone forth from it, bidding defiance to the scaffold and the quartering-wheel, for the defense, maintenance and spread of the Faith in their downtrodden persecuted land.

In the old home which the Irish sons of St. Francis will recover in Louvain, every stone will speak of the men of their own race and people who illustrated and sanctified it; by none more eloquently than the tombstones still preserved there of the founder, Florence Conry, O.S.B., Archbishop of Tuam; of Dominic of Burgo (Burke), Bishop of Elphin; of Rose Dougherty, widow of Prince Caffara O'Donnell, and her son; and of Owen Roe O'Neill, of Dominic Lynch, of Galway, Colonel of the Irish Brigade.

Through the pious and patriotic care of Monsignor J. Ryan and the competent assistance of the late Carl Reusen, professor of archeology in the university, these and other sepulchral stones are preserved and the inscriptions saved from further defacement by the wear of shodden feet daily speeding to and fro.

Among the other exiles of Ireland whose earthly pilgrimage ended at Louvain and whose remains lie buried within the hallowed precincts of St. Anthony's Chapel are the three great Irish historians lovingly mentioned in O'Flanders' "Erin"; Hugo Ward, John Colgan and Michael O'Clery. "This life's ambition," he says, "is beautifully expressed in the Irish motto 'For the glory of God and the honor of our people.'"

In September the English Franciscans celebrated the seventh centenary of the first coming of the Friars Minor to England. The friars arrived at Dover on September 10, 1224. They straightway set out for Canterbury, where they made their first settlement in England. That first company of Friars Minor consisted of four clerics (of whom one only was a priest) and five lay brethren. Their leader was the Blessed Agnellus of Pisa, though he was as yet but a deacon. Their first experience at Dover was hardly encouraging, if, as one chronicler relates, they were held up as spies and narrowly escaped being hanged. However, at Canterbury they were entertained by the monks of Christ Church for two days; then they were given a lodging in the Priests' Hospice, and after a while they were given a temporary home in a schoolhouse belonging to the monks.

Two days after their arrival at Canterbury four friars pushed on to London, where they were given a shelter by the Dominicans, until a citizen offered them a small house. Within a few weeks two of the London friars proceeded to Oxford, where again they found a temporary lodging with the Dominicans, until a house was lent them by a compassionate tradesman. Such was the beginning of the first Franciscan Province. After this year by year the friars increased, and new settlements were made, so that within thirty years there were forty-nine friaries established in England, in which were lodged 1,242 friars.

It seems almost incredible, this swift multiplication of friaries and friars, especially when we remember that at the same time the Dominicans were establishing themselves almost everywhere side by side with the Franciscans: yet in the preceding century an almost similar phenomenon

had occurred in regard to the Cistercians. Evidently, notwithstanding the undoubted evils of the times, England was still a land of faith and spiritual yearnings.

The Cistercians, in the earlier period, had revivified the monastic state, and enkindled even outside the cloister a new spirit of mystical devotion amongst those who came under their influence: and there can be no doubt that the mystical revival, due largely to the Cistercians, prepared the way for the friars, and helped to secure them a welcome.

At the time the friars came to England there were, indeed, "mystic voices in the air," calling the more devout to a contemplation and closer imitation of the unworldliness and self-sacrifice of the Redeemer of Mankind; and to those who had heard the voices, the poverty, and unworldliness, and apostolic zeal of the friars made an instant appeal. The appeal was the more forceable because of the contrast between the frairs and the clergy at large. State patronage and ecclesiastical landlordism (to borrow modern terms) had done their worst to make the clergy inefficient and ineffective as regards the pastoral ministry; it was (as many of the saints complained) the day of the hireling, not of the shepherd. Parochial life, in consequence, was almost spiritually dead.

Reforming bishops, such as Bishops Poore and Hugh of Wells, strove valiantly to remedy matters, but they had to contend with a system: and it was not until the friars came that any headway could be made to undo the great evil. They, by their itinerant preaching and missionary excursions, brought religion once again into the midst of the people at large; once again the Word of God was preached to the people, and the religion of the parish was lifted out of its deadly formatism and imbued with a practical appreciation of the mysteries of the faith.

Once again the people at large felt that the Church, in the labours of the friars, was interested in their souls and anxious to save; and not merely interested in temporal emoluments or ecclesiastical privileges. That, indeed, was one of the greatest services the friars did for the Church in the thirteenth century; they saved the faith of the people and saved their allegiance to the Church by winning the respect and confidence of the people for the sacred ministry.

In many and various ways did the friars fulfil their ministry. Not only did they preach and administer the sacraments "in season and out of season," but they were to be found wherever their presence might be helpful and active in any manner of work which might conduce to the moral and spiritual advantage of the nation. They did not undertake "social works," but they brought their influence to bear actively on the political and social life of the time—always either to uphold justice or to bring about peace between rival factions. An instance of their sense of justice was when they sent back to Henry III a gift of cloth because, as they learned, the King had seized the cloth without paying the merchant a fair price for it. Another instance was their intervention to save the Jews in an anti-Semitic riot in London in 1256; an intervention which alienated many of their benefactors amongst the citizens.

In the great constitutional struggle, the sympathy of the Franciscans was with Simon de Montfort: but before that struggle came to a head, the friars had on several occasions warned the King in the interests of peace against his arbitrary policy.

Side by side with all these external activities the English Franciscans developed a zeal for learning which gave them a world-wide reputation; for it was from their theological school at Oxford that many of the foremost theologians and scholars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries came forth. The names of Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham would give any school a place in history: yet before Roger Bacon made his stormy appearance the Oxford Franciscan School had become one of the intellectual centres of Christendom, and its scholars were in demand to fill lectureships in the universities and theological schools of Europe.

That the Franciscans exercised a strong and wholesome influence in the development of English life in the thirteenth century is now generally admitted; and this fact gave to the recent centenary celebrations something of a national interest. It is, perhaps, significant that the centenary was commemorated by special lectures and academic gatherings even outside the Catholic body. Yet doubtless many who thus bore homage to the Friars Minor of seven hundred years ago would be surprised to learn that in twenty-five English friaries the Friars Minor still live and work in England.

His Eminence Cardinal Sincero, who was elevated to the Sacred College a few months ago, recently took possession of his titular church as Cardinal-Deacon of San Giorgio in Velabro. This church is a very old basilica near the Roman Forum. The name "Velabrum" was given to a marshy district surrounding the site of the church. The Emperor Aurelian in his day built a great wall here to confine the river which in the periods of heavy rainfall habitually overflowed into Rome. In early days the basilica was known as the Basilica Sempronia probably because of some connection with the family or house of Titus Semprinius who resided in this neighborhood.

In the Seventh century the church became the Basilica Sebastiani since it was dedicated by Pope Leo II to the Martyr St. Sebastian. One hundred years later Pope Zachary added St. George as joint Patron. So ever since that time the Basilica has been known in Rome as the Basilica of St. George in Velabro. The head of St. George with his spear and part of his standard is said to be preserved beneath the high altar.

Under the Norman kings St. George was chosen as patron of England. It will be recalled that Cardinal Newman took his cardinalitial title from this ancient basilica.

On the occasion of taking possession of the Basilica, Cardinal Sincero pronounced a memorable discourse in which he recalled the grand history of the San Giorgio.

In the early centuries of Christian history it was part of the ceremony

at the Lenten station at the Church of Santa Sabina on the Aventine for the Subdeacon to announce to the people that on the following day the station would be held in the church "Sancti Georgii Martyris ad Velum Aureum." On the next day the Pope, barefooted and with ashes on his head, went to this church where the station was held and celebrated Mass.

In early times, also, it was the custom for the members of the Roman Senate to come to the Church of St. George on his Feast Day, April 23, for the blessing of the municipal banners. On this occasion the Senate made a gift of a chalice to the church.

Cardinal Sincero recalled also that the church was an historical symbol of the unity of the Catholic faith, and that to understand its origin it was necessary to revert to the Seventh Century heresy of Monothelism, a heresy widely diffused in the East and which threatened the dogma of the Incarnation of Our Blessed Lord. The Pope, St. Agatho, convened the Sixth Oecumenical Council at Constantinople in the year 680. Through his Cardinal legates His Holiness presented to the Fathers of the Council an Apostolic Letter in which were set forth the teachings of the Church on theological matters in dispute.

The Council accepted the Pope's Letter, duly condemned the heresy and issued the definition that there were in Christ two natural wills and two natural operations. The Pope died the following year, before he had time to confirm the acts of the Council. He was succeeded by Leo II who duly confirmed the acts and had them translated from the Greek in which they were first written to the Latin in which most seminarists know them today. This confirmation by the Pope was regarded everywhere throughout Christendom as a Treaty of Peace between the East and the West.

To celebrate this peace, Pope Leo either built or renovated a church on this spot. The church rapidly became a center wherein commingled both Greeks and Romans. The East and the West are even to-day represented there in the dust that lies beneath the gravestones. Roman inscriptions and Greek inscriptions alike may be read on the tombs. The devotional reunion was further emphasized in the Pontificate of Pope Zachary, when, in solemn procession the relics of the Greek Martyr St. George were borne from St. John Lateran's that they might rest here in the church dedicated to the Latin Martyr St. Sebastian. Thus in Roman devotion the church has always been dear alike to the Greeks as to the Romans.

Cardinal Sincero recalled the names of the two English Cardinals, Newman and Gasquet, and said that the latter eminent ecclesiastic had for a time held the title of this very church.

Professor Moritz Ritter of Bonn died on December 28, at the age of nearly eighty-three. He had been a professor at Bonn since 1873. His chief work was his *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Gegenreformation und des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* (3 vols., 1887-1909), preceded by his *Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des Dreiss. Krieges* (3 vols., 1870-1877).

Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University, who has been on leave of absence for some years, will resume his duties there at the beginning of February, 1925. Professor Alfred F. Pollard, of the University of London, will teach in Columbia University throughout the first half of the coming academic year, in the capacity of a visiting professor in Barnard College.

Dr. Samuel F. Bemis, hitherto of Whitman College, but temporarily connected during the past year with the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, went to Spain in May for fuller study of the earlier diplomatic relations between Spain and the United States; on his return, in September, he became professor of American history in George Washington University.

In the annual meeting of the Union Académique Internationale, at Brussels, May 12-14, the American Council of Learned Societies was represented by Professors E. C. Armstrong, Paul Shorey and Mr. W. G. Leland. There were reports of progress respecting the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* as well as respecting the catalogue of alchemic manuscripts, of which two volumes have appeared. The first number of the *Bulletin DuCange*, the organ of the international committee on the dictionary of medieval Latin, has appeared, and in most countries the national subcommittees are actively at work in the examination of the texts assigned to them.

Almost the whole of the June number of the *Historical Outlook* is occupied with a report by Professor Edgar Dawson, of Hunter College, New York, on a History Inquiry which has been conducted under his direction, with the aid of an advisory committee of the American Historical Association, and with means furnished by the Institute of Educational Research of Teachers' College, Columbia University. The purpose of the inquiry was the practical one of discovering the present condition and tendencies of history teaching in schools, and the report confines itself in the main to the presentation of the facts found or inferred. The procedure seems to us to have been in all points intelligent, catholic, unbiassed, and sufficiently extensive, and the report a model of fair, comprehensive and penetrating statement. So full and excellent a description of the existing state of things will be invaluable as a basis for future improvement and progress.

The Fifth International Congress of Historical Sciences, Brussels, April, 1923, voted to continue in office the international "bureau" of the Congress for the purpose of organizing a permanent International Committee of Historical Sciences and for the further consideration of various proposals which had been laid before the Congress (see *Am. His. Rev.*, XXVIII. 654). The bureau met accordingly at Brussels on May 15, 1924. There were present, as members or in an advisory capacity, Professors or

Messrs. Pirenne (Ghent), chairman, Delehaye, S.J. (Brussels), Dembinski (Warsaw), de Sanctis (Turin), Dopsch (Vienna), Ganshof (Brussels), Homolle (Paris), Koht (Christiania), Leland (Washington), Lhériter (Paris), Mirot (Paris), Powicke (Manchester), and Vinogradoff (Oxford). Various resolutions of the Congress were taken into consideration. A proposal of Professor Powicke for the preparation of a catalogue of *incipit* of Latin manuscripts of the Middle Ages was approved in principle and referred to the Union Académique Internationale. The plan of the proposed international review of economic history (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. 652) was approved. A plan suggested to the Congress by J. E. Jameson for the resumption on an international basis of the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* was approved in principle, and referred to the projector for further elaboration and report. The question of the meeting-place of the Sixth Congress (1928) was, after preliminary discussion, left to be decided at the meeting in May, 1925, of the permanent International Committee of Historical Sciences. A tentative plan for the organization of such a committee, drawn up by Mr. Leland, was discussed, and referred to a committee of which he is secretary for further consideration and for definitive action next May.

Teachers of history should be especially interested in a *Report on the Teaching of History* recently issued by the British Board of Education (*Educational Pamphlets*, no. 37, 1923) prepared by a committee of government inspectors and ex-inspectors of schools. It can be obtained from H. M. Stationery Office for sixpence; it is described by Mr. C. H. K. Marten in the April number of *History*.

Professor James F. Willard's second bulletin of *Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States of America* (to be obtained from the compiler, Boulder, Colorado) comes just in time to be barely mentioned here. It embraces both historical and Latin studies, extends its scope in several particulars beyond that of the first bulletin, and will be of much service to the workers in these fields.

After ten years' interruption, Professor Paul Kehr, for many years director of the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome, has resumed the publication of his *Italia Pontificia*, bringing out part 1 of his seventh volume (Berlin, Weidmann, 1923, pp. xxiii, 239); it embraces the documents of the patriarchate of Apuileia, excepting the dioceses of Como and Trent, already covered, and presents 743 documents where Jaffé had 366. Pope Pius XI. contributed largely toward the costs of publication. At the same time appears vol. II., pt. 1, of *Germania Pontificia*, ed. A. Brackmann (*ibid.*, pp. xxxiv, 354), embracing the dioceses of Eichstätt, Augsburg, and Constance (except the now Swiss portion), with 405 documents of popes and legates, of which 143 are not in Jaffé.

Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes has brought out a revised edition of vol.

II. of his *Political and Social History of Modern Europe* (1815-1924), adding not only a new part, entitled "Storm and Stress," which treats of the significant events of the World War and its aftermath, but also thoroughly revising the chapter on international relations from 1871 to 1914, concerning the diplomatic background of the war.

The British Society of Franciscan Studies has in preparation for publication this year a history of *The Grey Friars of Canterbury, 1224 to 1538*, by Mr. Charles Cotton—the occasion being the seven hundredth anniversary of their arrival in England.

Two recent decrees of the French government are of great importance to scholars having occasion to prosecute research in that country. The first decree unites the Bibliothèque Mazarine to the Bibliothèque Nationale as a single library and provides that the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal and the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève shall also be considered national libraries, the three having henceforth a unified administration. The second decree extends the hours during which these libraries are open to readers and provides that they shall be closed every year on the following schedule: the Bibliothèque Nationale (including the Mazarine) from August 16 to 31; the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève from September 1 to 15; the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal from September 16 to 30. The libraries of the University of Paris, of the Institute, the Ecole Normale, etc., remain under other management and are not included in this decree.

Vols. XIII. and XIV. of the English translation of Dr. Ludwig von Pastor's *History of the Popes*, corresponding to vol. IX. of the *Geschichte der Päpste* have been announced for publication during this past spring by the Broadway House, London.

The second volume of the new collection of monographs issued by the Lazarist Fathers of the Collegio Alberoni bears the title *Il Processo del Cardinale Alberoni* (Piacenza, 1923, pp. 253). It is a study by A. Arata of the celebrated trial of Philip V.'s disgraced minister, based on documents in the Vatican archives.

What promises to prove a mine of source-material in its field is the two-volume collection of documents, *Politischer Katholizismus: Dokumente seiner Entwicklung* (Munich, Drei Masken Verlag, 1921-1923, pp. 314, 396), gathered together for the series *Der Deutsche Staatsgedanke* by Professor L. Bergsträsser, well known for his studies in the history of German political parties. Here is a carefully annotated selection of parliamentary speeches, petitions, pamphlets, electoral programmes, newspaper articles and the like, the first volume covering the period from 1814 to 1866, the second dealing with the Kulturkampf, the evolution of the Centre, and its history down to the late war.

For the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution Mr. W. G. Leland nearly finished in Paris the manuscript of the first volume of his *Guide to the Materials for American History in the Archives and Libraries of Paris*. This first volume deals with manuscripts in libraries. Its completion will necessarily await the ending of his temporary engagement with the American Council of Learned Societies. The volume prepared by Mr. D. M. Matteson, *List of Manuscripts concerning American History preserved in European Libraries and noted in their Published Catalogues and Similar Printed Lists*, is now in the printer's hands. The manuscript of volume III. of Dr. Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, extending from the beginning of 1778 to the middle of 1779, is approaching completion. Mr. Gunnar J. Malmin has finished the researches in Scandinavian archives undertaken for the Institution by the American-Scandinavian Foundation.

The late Dr. Gaillard Hunt, of the Department of State, planned a series of small monographs, each to be written by an authoritative writer, on the successive Secretaries of State. Since his decease the publisher, Alfred A. Knopf, has put the conduct of the series in the hands of Dr. James Brown Scott.

The December number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* contains the second of Rev. Felix Fellner's papers on the Trials and Triumphs of Catholic Pioneers in Western Pennsylvania; an account, by Sister Mary Eulalia Herron, of the Work of the Sisters of Mercy in the Archdiocese of Cincinnati (1858-1921); and some notes by Father Francis Barnum, S.J., on the Development of the Early Jesuit Missions.

At a recent meeting of the Academy of Inscriptions in Paris, M. Charles de La Roncière, keeper of the printed books in the Bibliothèque Nationale, announced an interesting discovery respecting a map in that library, hitherto classed as a Portuguese map of the sixteenth century. He showed that it was not Portuguese, but of Genoese origin, dating between 1488 and 1492, and he maintained, and showed evidence in support of his views, that it was prepared under the direction of Christopher Columbus, by his brother Bartholomew, and represents the geographical notions which were entertained by Columbus when he set out upon his voyage of discovery. A reduced facsimile of the map, with a statement by M. de La Roncière, appears in *L'Illustration* for April 12. A clearer and larger facsimile, in colors is being published by Les Editions Historiques Paris.

The January number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* contains a biographical account of Rev. Dennis Ryan (1786-1852), from the pen of Rev. John E. Kealy; an address on Father De Smet, by Rev. Gil-

bert J. Garraghan, S.J.; and the concluding installment of Joseph J. Thompson's paper on the Cahokia Mission Property.

The second of the four volumes of Dr. William W. Folwell's *History of Minnesota*, lately published, takes up the story at the admission of Minnesota to the Union and carries it through the events of the Sioux War and the Civil War, to 1865.

The second annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association was held at Quebec on May 23 and 24. The occasion was the celebration of the centenary of the founding of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, the oldest learned society in Canada. The Royal Society of Canada and the Canadian Authors Association held their annual meetings at Quebec during the same week; exhibitions of historical material were maintained by the Public Archives of Canada and the Quebec society, and there were excursions to places of historical interest in the environs of Quebec. Among the addresses and papers were one on Montcalm, by Ægidius Fauteux, librarian of St. Sulpice, Montreal, three papers relating to Arnold's expedition, by P. Angers, of Beauceville, and one on the end of Alexander Mackenzie's Trip to the Pacific, by Harlan I. Smith, of Ottawa. The presidential address of Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee outlined the activities of the association during the past year, and the treasurer's report indicated that it is in a flourishing financial condition. Mr. Burpee was re-elected president, and Dr. Arthur G. Doughty was elected vice-president.

We are indebted to the *Downside Review* for the following notice:

This year His Eminence Cardinal Gasquet celebrates the golden jubilee of his ordination to the priesthood. It was most fitting that the first public recognition of that happy event should be a meeting arranged by the Gregorian Society of which His Eminence is the most distinguished member. On July 9th a large and distinguished gathering of clergy and laity assembled in London, at the Hotel Victoria, to honour the occasion. At the dinner which followed, the Right Hon. John Wheatley, M.P., Minister of Health, was in the chair, and after the toast of the King he proposed that of the guest of the evening.

It was, he said, a great personal joy to himself that as a member of His Majesty's Government he had the honour of presiding over the assembly that night, and of submitting the toast of their illustrious guest. Many present were more familiar with the life-story, the work and the personality of His Eminence, and he would but recall the outstanding events of that distinguished career. Cardinal Gasquet was a native of London and had been educated at Downside, with which his name would for generations be associated. It certainly made him feel rather boyish to realise that His Eminence had done several years solid work before he himself was born. One of his first undertakings on his appointment as Superior at Downside was to bring the methods of teaching up to date, and to make the School as efficient as ever he could. To him also was due

the initiative in the construction of the great Abbey Church which was now reaching its completion. His Eminence had been Prior of Downside until 1885, in which year a well-known doctor had told him that his days were numbered, and advised him to give up the strenuous life he was leading and spend the rest of his days in quiet. He might as Minister of Health be permitted to say that this little medical inaccuracy in diagnosis tempted him to feel sceptical about the value of the profession. Mr. Wheatley then proceeded to review the important historical work done by Cardinal Gasquet after he had been advised by his doctors to rest. His *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* was one of the few books which have reversed a so-called verdict of history, and it and its companion volumes played no small part in bringing England out of ignorant bigotry into enlightened tolerance, so that when in 1914 Abbot Gasquet was raised to the sacred purple a Lutheran Professor could write that in making the learned Benedictine a Cardinal Pius X had done honour not only to him but also to the historians of the world. In conclusion Mr. Wheatley said he was very proud to be associated with their eminent guest of that evening and acknowledge his service to the ideals which they had in the world.

Cardinal Gasquet then rose to reply to the toast, and was received with prolonged acclamations.

It had been, he said, a great pleasure to him to make the acquaintance of the Minister of Health, and he thanked him for what he felt compelled to call the benevolent exaggerations of his speech. He could not but admire the courage with which the Right Honourable member met the difficulties which faced him. The Israelites of old were forced to make bricks without straw, the Minister of Health was expected to make houses without bricks, and apparently also without men. Nevertheless, he had great confidence he would succeed. The Cardinal then thanked the Gregorian Society for having arranged this great meeting in his honour. Since his doctors had ordered him to rest he had found plenty of work to do. For many years past he had presided over the Commission for the Revision of the Vulgate. But though he had lived in Rome he never forgot his own country, and as Librarian of the Vatican he was constantly discovering subjects of interest in English history which remained to work at. He had, for instance, quite recently come across a collection of Latin letters written between 1520 and 1530 by a Greek Professor. The first was addressed to Cardinal Pole, and of the one hundred and sixty letters more than three-fourths were addressed to young English scholars of the day. In this connection His Eminence expressed the hope that the Catholic Record Society would receive the support it deserved, so as to enable it to continue its excellent work on an even greater scale than in the past. He then spoke in terms of affection of his brethren in religion, some of whom, like Abbot Ford, had been his fellow pupils at Downside; and in conclusion he proposed the health of Cardinal Bourne.

His Eminence Cardinal Bourne said—

It would have been a matter of very great regret to him had he not had the opportunity to wish every grace, consolation and blessing to one who was a fellow-citizen as well as a fellow-member of the Sacred College. Mr. Wheatley had said that Cardinal Gasquet had given them an example of how to work on till old age, trusting that as long as God willed they would be enabled to do something for Him and His Church. This quality was perhaps something that belonged especially to Benedictines. Only the other day he visited a venerable abbot of that order, a man of eighty-four, who was undergoing a serious operation from which he had happily recovered, and he was told that Abbot Bergh had had as his daily visitor his former novice master, now ninety-three years of age. His Eminence concluded with a tribute to Mr. Wheatley, saying that all Catholics had reason to rejoice that in these days of uncertainty there was at the Ministry of Health a man whose knowledge of and attachment to religious and moral principles no one could question, and he proposed the health of the Minister of Health.

The sixth annual meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference, representing the Franciscans, Conventuals, and Capuchins of the United States and Canada, was held at St. Lawrence's College, Mt. Calvary, Wis., June 27 to 29. More than forty delegates from cities as widely separated as Montreal, Canada, New York and Santa Barbara, Cal., were represented.

The following papers were presented: "Language Studies in the Franciscan Order," by the Rev. John M. Lenhart, O.M., Cap., St. Augustine's Monastery, Pittsburgh, Pa.; "The Science of Language," by the Rev. Berthold Hartung, O.F.M., St. Joseph's College, Teutopolis, Ill.; "The Art of Language," by the Rev. Simon J. Archambault, O.F.M., Franciscan Missionary College, Sorel, Quebec; "Teaching of Literature," by the Rev. Constant Klein, O.M.C., Grand Island, Neb.; "Training Our Students and Especially Our Clerics for Literary Activity and Productive Scholarship," by the Rev. Gabriel McCarthy, O.M., Cap.., SS. Peter and Paul's Monastery, Cumberland, Md.

In a scholarly fashion the Rev. John M. Lenhart outlined the language studies of the Friars as pursued through the seven hundred years of the existence of the order. The Friars have to their credit the scientific treatment of seventy different languages. At the present day the Friars are working among the Indians in the Southwest and northern sections of America, and among the tribes of Africa, preparing grammars, dictionaries, and books of devotion in the various dialects and tongues. The Friars have been the pioneers in language study in many countries. For instance, they printed the first grammar as well as the first Bible in Gaelic characters, and the books of prayers which even at the present day are so extensively used by the sons of Erin.

Besides discussing the various papers, the Friars assembled at Mt. Calvary and, representing the eleven Franciscan Provinces, organized a Fran-

ciscan Bibliographical Institute. The following officers were re-elected: President, the Rev. Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M., St. Bonaventure's Seminary and College, Allegany, N. Y.; Vice-president, the Rev. Ferdinand Mayer, O.M.C., Syracuse, N. Y.; Secretary, the Rev. Felix M. Kirsch, O.M. Cap., St. Fidelis' Seminary, Herman, Pa. Copies of the report containing all the papers, proceedings and discussions may be obtained from the secretary, Herman, Pa.

The Franciscans have been in Ireland now some 700 years. They are the possessors of a vast and valuable collection of ancient Irish manuscripts in the library attached to their church, at Merchants' Quay, Dublin. This library has had an adventurous history. It was assembled from the old Irish monasteries, especially in Donegal, and after some time it found a home in the Franciscan College of St. Anthony in Louvain. At the time of the French Revolution, it was removed to the College of St. Isidore in Rome. There it remained till the threatened occupation of the city by Garibaldian troops. It was then removed to Merchants' Quay, Dublin.

The most ancient possession of the library is a manuscript copy of a part of the Psalms, written in a Lough Derg monastery in the year 651. The handwriting is still perfectly legible.

The library contains an invaluable collection of correspondence and documents dealing with the Confederation of Kilkenny. In addition, there are numerous pamphlets relating to the same period of Irish history. These and many of the other rare treasures of the library were collected by the eminent Franciscan, Luke Wadding, who was agent for the Catholic Confederation.

The contemplated Monumenta Hiberniae in honor of St. Patrick's fifteenth centenary eight years hence, would draw upon this wealth of lore.

Several rooms of the Palace of the Popes, at Avignon, were converted about fifteen years ago, into barracks for engineer troops. Wooden partitions and floors had been put in, dividing several of the rooms into smaller quarters. These partitions and floors are now being removed, and the Consistory rooms, in particular, will be restored to their former magnificent proportions.

This restoration is due to the efforts of a group of artists and to the Catholics who have long been anxious to have this venerable monument restored to its original aspect.

The recent visit of a body of Belgian delegates to Rome and their very warm reception by the Holy Father elicited most enthusiastic comment from the press.

Towards the end of the year 1898, Pope Leo XIII was faced with a serious condition relating to the Pontifical Treasury. His Holiness therefore, commissioned his Cardinal Secretary of State, Cardinal Rampolla, to make a special appeal to the Catholic nations.

When the appeal was made in Belgium, it was taken up by the newly-formed Catholic Journalists' Association, and on Palm Sunday the following year, 1899, the subscription list was closed. Year by year since then, with the exception of the years during the war, the Association has forwarded to Rome its own particular contribution to Peter's Pence, the entire amount for the quarter of a century, being more than three millions of French francs.

In the group of distinguished men who appeared at the Vatican recently was the sole survivor of the signatories to the original appeal launched in Belgium, M. Leon Maillet, formerly manager of the *Courier de Brussels.*

The members of the delegation had the honor of assisting at the Mass of the Holy Father and of receiving their Paschal Communion from the august hands of His Holiness.

On the following day they were received in special audience, and their leader, M. Maillet, read an address of homage to the Pope.

In response, the Holy Father spoke feelingly of Belgium, and particularly mentioned his regard for Cardinal Mercier. Before imparting his blessing, Pope Pius gave each of the group a personal gift in memory of the occasion.

The Royal University of Naples founded by Frederick II, celebrated the seventh centenary of its foundation recently.

Delegates from distinguished bodies in all parts of the world attended and presented addresses of congratulation. Two Representatives from Ireland were present, one from Dublin University and one from the Royal Irish Academy.

The most distinguished name on the roll of alumni of this famous old institute is that of St. Thomas Aquinas. For six years he studied in these historic halls and in later life he held a professor's chair there.

The 650th anniversary of the death of St. Thomas, which is also the 200th anniversary of the birth of Kant, will be celebrated at Naples also. Cardinal Mercier is to deliver an oration in the old Church of San Domenico Maggiore where St. Thomas once lectured.

The great philosophic tradition started at Naples by St. Thomas was carried on in later centuries by others who rank high in their own special departments. Among them are Telesio, who lectured at Naples in the XVIth Century, and whose work probably influenced Francis Bacon and Tommaso Campenella.

Through the generosity of Monsignor Connolly of Boston, the Catholic University of America has come into possession of one of the earliest printed missals. Bishop Shahan states that it is a Carthusian Missal, printed at Venice in 1509 by the Florentine Lucantonio di Giunta for the use of the Carthusian monks then numerous in various parts of Europe.

This rare and beautiful little volume, six and one-half inches long and four and three-quarters broad, is a gem of early Venetian printing, and

retains the original vellum binding with clasps and cover-ornaments, all in an excellent state of preservation. It has nineteen full page illustrations and three hundred and sixty-eight inserted cuts and borders. Every Mass has its own ornamental figures placed at the Introit. All the ornaments are admirable in design and color, and together form a kind of gallery of Early Italian Art.

The letter-press, a fine Italian minuscule, is equal to the best Aldine work, and the fine linen paper has almost the strength of parchment. In a very small space the makers of this delightful book have exhibited a world of religious feeling and artistic skill. It belonged once to the famous Certosa of Pavia, and bears yet on its front the intertwined initials of the pious donors amid a richly floriated decoration. It is quite possible that there is no more beautiful specimen of Italian "incunabula," and that the Catholic University has in it the most artistic book that Italy possessed when Raphael was yet in the prime of youth.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ireland's Important Part In America's Independence and Development. By Rev. Frank L. Reynolds. John P. Daleiden Col.. Chicago: 1924. Pp. 322.

Father Reynolds has written this little volume, drawing freely from M. G. O'Brien's *A Hidden Phase of American History,* as a supplement to histories in use in the schools. He is fully convinced that there has been malicious suppression of facts by American historians to minimize the Irish contribution to America and much misstatement of fact to make it appear that: "American liberty was fought for and won mainly by English Colonists and their descendants, and that many of our American institutions, and much of our civilization, have been established by, and handed down to us by our Anglo-Saxon ancestry." He believes that he has shown that the crimson tide in America's veins is largely Irish." Irish, however, is used to describe men from Ireland regardless of creed.

No one denies that Irish Catholics and Presbyterians were apt to be in sympathy with the American Revolution. Much has been written on the immigration of Presbyterians from Ireland to the colonies after 1700. A considerable list of volumes on the Scotch-Irish is available. There has been no attempt to minimize their influence or their numbers. They were well received, at least in a religious sense, by the New England Puritan-Congregationalist. They became numerous in Pennsylvania, Virginia and the Carolinas in the frontier counties. They are rarely described as Irish by our historians, for some time after 1800 the term Scotch-Irish came into use and ultimately came to be acceptable to this group, who would differentiate themselves from the more Irish when the latter came after 1820 in ever increasing numbers. No doubt among these were some Catholics, possibly a fair percentage, but it can never be anything but a speculation. If there were a great number, judging from the tenacious holding of the faith in Ireland despite the penal laws, the scarcity of priests, and opportunities ahead of apostates, it would seem that Bishop Carroll would have found more of them clinging to the church regardless of all obstacles.

Why should Irish Catholics go to the colonies? The penal laws were enforced save in Pennsylvania, possibly in Rhode Island, and for a short period in Maryland. Assuredly colonial America was no sanctuary. Their leaders after 1691 went to the continent, some of them into the armies of Spain, Austria, and France. Some came to America as indentured-servants—not slaves—but they are as lost as the Acadians. Is there not danger of building up a mythical number and then being forced to accredit the race with a large leakage from the Church.

Readers of this book must remember that the Irish Parliament represented the small numerical Anglican ascendancy, and that Yelverton, Bushe, Buigh, Connolly, Daly, Ponsonby, Ogle, and Grattan were not Catholics though good Irishmen. Nor were Burke or Barré, who becomes Barry in this account on his second appearance. The author does not intimate that they were Catholics, but some readers might get that impression. Irish Catholic officers in foreign service did offer their services to Franklin, and of these quite a list is given. Nor did Irish peasants enlist in the British service, when expediency caused a relaxation in the penal laws and opened service in the ranks to Catholics. And in Ireland, there were popular expressions of sympathy, destruction of military supplies, and secret aid given to patriot privateersmen.

Father Reynolds, urging that as they were Irish scant attention has been given them though they held high position "in State and National affairs," contributes a short list of governors from Thomas Dongan to George Bryan of Pennsylvania (1788). Dongan alone was a Catholic and he served the Catholic James Stuart. He continues: "Many of the earliest judges in our present States were Irishmen or their sons, and many of the race excelled in medicine, science, and literature, and as pioneers in every walk of life, they assisted largely in laying the foundations for the future development of the United States." Few historians will contradict this broad generalization on accepting the author's definition of an Irishman. Some Irishmen might turn out to be Englishmen long resident in Ireland—a melting pot of peoples. Racial history, even where racial differences are marked by linguistic lines, is beset with pitfalls. Nine signers of the Declaration, probably more, may have been of Irish de-

scent but only Charles Carroll was a Catholic, and Maryland Catholics were not over friendly later to Irish Catholic immigrants.

Names of Irishmen in the Continental Congresses and military service are given, largely following Mr. O'Brien's work. Where local town historians are cited they are usually Protestants, frequently ministers. This might indicate that some of the names are suppressed as insufficiently important to national historians. The O'Briens of Machias Bay (not Catholics) would appear in a local but hardly in a national account unless of great scope. The Sullivans were the sons of a Limerick school-master, but he could hardly teach the sons of Puritans for sixty years and be known as an adherent of the old faith. The late M. D. J. Griffin, of the Philadelphia *Researches* has much material on this and other phases of the present work.

The reviewer has always wondered at the number of Irish schoolmasters, who (not in this account) are so often by inference at least assigned to the church, when in Ireland the penal laws precluded their picking up much beyond the rudiments. Of course the colonial teacher hardly needed more than the "three R's." Irish names in themselves are a poor guide. A list of early Methodist and Baptist exhorters would include many.

Maryland historians do not indicate that many Irishmen came to Baltimore's colony. The Irish peasants which Penn brought out were Quakers from Cork. It is a stretch of imagination to see Irish traders in Pennsylvania in conjunction with French missionaries instructing Indians in the Catholic faith and American patriotism—Indians who turn out to be Penobscots and Abenakis. (P. 12). On p. 106, he suggests that he has proved the injustice that has been done in depriving the Irish and especially the Catholic Irish from the place they so richly deserve. Yet only a few men so far mentioned are known to be Catholics, and he identifies as such still fewer. Names too may actually be numerous and yet in comparison to the population be insignificant in percentages.

At times, Father Reynolds is very bitter when referring to Cromwell or the Earl of Stafford, who strangely are linked together. He denies the origin of the first Thanksgiving in 1621, suggesting that it was more likely on the occasion of relief ships

from Ireland in 1631 and 1676. In this he takes issue with the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, seeming to find a refutation, which I cannot, in Sadlier's and Barnes' grade school books. "Cowardice displayed by the New England troops" is a chapter caption. Such a chapter can hardly pass for serious history. The section on the Society of Friendly Sons of St. Patrick is interesting, but readers, especially the young, must bear in mind that its membership was not confined to Catholics nor always to Irishmen.

R. J. P.

A History of Minnesota. By William Watts Folwell. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul: 1924. Vol. II, pp. 477.

The second volume of President Folwell's projected four volume work maintains the standard of scholarship, judicial tone, and laborious effort which was so pleasoing in his first volume. It is the more remarkable in the period from 1857-1865, through which he lived and whose leading figuers he came to know so intimately.

General historians will find material of moment in the section on the Civil War, the early lack of interest in national affairs, the closing of party lines when Fort Sumter was fired upon, and the strenuous efforts of the frontier state which furnished eleven regiments before the war was over. There is too a suggestion of how some of our most worthy citizens by fraudulent practices under the Homestead Act seized fine lands. Into this Dr. Folwell does not delve but writes in rather colorless, conciliating manner. There are limits to academic freedom. The origin of great fortunes or the genesis of certain industries must not be *pried* into too closely. The forthcoming volume will cover the rise of the lumber business, and if the whole story is told it should be of deep interest to the industrial historian. The author with considerable candor recounts the early railroad financing which was not entirely divorced from political corruption, bank failures, and speculative contracting.

Quite rightly Dr. Folwell gives far more space to the Sioux outbreak (1863) and the Indian wars than to the Civil War, for the frontiersmen were far more concerned about the massacres and the immediate danger. To the passing generation, it is still the terror of the Sioux bands on the war-path that is the vivid

memory of the period. The Indians quelled, people would have exterminated the prisoners, and the politicians and state authorities, Governor Ramsay for one, lacked stamina to stay the demand for bloody revenge. There was even a lack of gratitude shown prominent half-breeds, like Alex Faribault and the Renvilles and Christian Indians who had braved death to warn the settlers. There was an absurd belief that the Indians had been incited by Southern agents:—The Indians struck when the troops were sent South realizing instinctively that their chance had come. Some of the Protestant missionaries manfully counselled moderation, when demagogues and editors were half encouraging summary and vindictive punishment of the 2,000 Indian prisoners at Fort Snelling, a large share of them being women and children.

Punishment was in federal hands, and the humane Lincoln was not to be forced. It is but an incident in his career but one worthy of more attention for it cast in deep relief his broad humanitarianism. Bishop Whipple of the Episcopal Church in company with his relative, General Halleck, had discussed the Indian situation with Lincoln, entering into not only the barbarities but the fundamental causes of the outbreak and the failure of our Indian policy. In some quarters he was denounced as spitefully as Little Crow himself. On careful investigation, Lincoln in his own hand wrote the order to General Sibley to execute the thirty-nine Indians and half-breeds, designated by name, on December 19, 1863. This leniency disappointed the people and martial law had to be declared over a ten mile radius from Mankato. On a respite of eight days the sentence against thirty-eight men was carried out. All but two embraced Christianity, twenty-four "received the sacrament at the hands of the Catholic Father Ravoux, although he had not ministered among the Sioux for many years." (P. 210). Among the prisoners at Snelling, Bishop Whipple and a young minister were most successful, Chief Wabasha and many of his people coming under their instruction. "Little is known of the ministrations of Father Augustine Ravoux in the Indian camp....His own brief statement is that he visited it often and baptized 184 persons, almost all young children." (P. 254. Ravoux, *Reminiscences*, P. 81).

The capture in Canada through bribery and liquor and trial

on hear-say evidence led to the conviction by a military commission of Shakopee, a chief who with his father had always been friendly to the whites, and Medicine Bottle. Bishop Grace protested to Lincoln, who granted a stay but on the appeal of General and Governor Miller, in the name of 700 victims of 1862, the men were executed Nov. 11, 1865, Father Ravoux ministering to them until the end. There is little doubt but what it was a travesty on justice and that the chiefs were sacrificed to popular clamor and political expediency.

Of some Catholic interest is the treatment of Ignatius Donnelly, lieutenant-governor and later Congressman, author and orator, and of General James Shields, the Irishman who served as U. S. Senator from Illinois, Minnesota, and Missouri, as a general in the Mexican and Civil Wars, as railroad commissioner in California, and who challenged Lincoln to a duel, which was prevented on the field of combat by judicious friends. The census statistics of 1860, show 58,728 foreign born (about one third), of whom Germans numbered 18,400, Irish 12,831, Norwegians 8,425, and Swedes 3,178. Of the native born a fair share would be of German and Irish extraction and none of Scandinavian. This would indicate that all the Irish did not shun the frontier, and also the recent character of the now dominant Scandinavian population.

The author's notice of the late Archbishop John Ireland is worthy of quotation and his references and notes of a personal interview with the Archbishop may be of interest to some biographer:

"The chaplain of the Fifth Minnesota was a young Roman Catholic priest who had lately completed his education abroad. During the hardships of a very arduous summer campaign his tender and kindly ministrations won him the good will and respect of the whole command. In the battle of Corinth he not only exercised the offices of his ministry, but he also displayed a manly intrepidity on the firing line. After the lapse of a half century and more the survivors of the Fifth still delighted to greet and honor their comrade, the Most Reverend John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul. He was distinguished in ecclesiastical circles on both sides of the Atlantic and his heart and hand were always in every good cause of his city, state, and nation. Amer-

ican through and through, he incurred no little censure because of his desire to see and his efforts to establish a distinct American Catholicity in this country. His commanding yet gracious presence and his powerful and brilliant oratory dignified many an important civic celebration. As an apostle of temperance he wrought a revolution among his own people and others sufficient to make an epoch in Minnesota history. No Catholic prelate in America has done more to bridge the chasm between the old church and the descendants of those who in times gone by broke from its fold." (Pp. 97-98). And as president, librarian and professor of the University of Minnesota, Dr. Folwell had splendid opportunity of viewing the life and labors of the towering bishop of St Paul.

R. J. P.

Life and Letters of Archpriest John Joseph Therry. By Rev. Eris M. O'Brien. Sydney, Australia: Angus & Robertson, Ltd. Pp. xx + 389.

The beginnings of Catholicism in England's colonies constitute some of the darkest and most bemired pages in British colonial history. There are points of resemblance in the early records of Catholic activities from the frozen north to the Antipodes,—wherever the tyrannous regime of sycophantic and time-serving governors has been duly and honestly chronicled. Reading Father O'Brien's splendid contribution to Catholic colonial history we are reminded frequently of similar pages written in the long ago whilst the reviewer was gathering data in colonial archives in the northland for a history of the early days of Catholicism in England's oldest colony, where Lord Baltimore essayed to establish a Catholic settlement on the peninsula of Avalon. The iniquitous enactments of Governor Palliser, under whose administration priests and Catholic settlers were hounded like beasts of prey throughout the length and breadth of the little colony which to-day boasts of a large and virile Catholic population almost entirely descendants of Irish exiles who, like the Australian pioneers, fled their homeland to escape from tyranny and oppression.

Father O'Brien's volume evidences scholarship, painstaking research and a faculty of using historical material most skill-

fully (a rather difficult task); and he has presented his data in attractive literary form.

In the initial chapter he takes issue with the author of *Benedictine Pioneers in Australia* and does it gracefully but effectively. He says: "We do not underestimate the enormous work done in Australia by Archbishop Polding and his gallant band of Benedictine priests. But when Bishop Ullathorne arrived in 1833, he found the Church already firmly planted—'a mustard tree' of striking vitality, that needed only the labours of more workmen to make it bud forth and flourish. The priest who planted the tree of Catholic faith in Australia and cared for it almost single-handed for ten years, was a secular priest—John Joseph Therry."

The pages immediately following constitute the background of the story of Father Therry's labors. Here it is interesting to note a point of contact between the Church in the Antipodes and the Church in the United States. It was the learned Bishop England of Charleston (whose life and labors will soon be revealed by the distinguished historian, Dr. Guilday, of the Catholic University of America), who was instrumental, through the kind offices of Lord Donoughmore (who raised the question in the British House of Commons) in securing the sanction of the British Government for the public exercise of the Catholic faith in Australia and Van Diemen's Land.

The success of the establishment of the Church in Australia depended largely upon the character of its first apostle. Says the author: "Had Father Therry been a negligent priest, he could not have commanded the respect and love of a community that was in great part convict. Had he been cowardly and of weak principles he would have succumbed to Macquarie's or at any rate to Darling's [governors] regulations and enactments. He disobeyed enactments that were impossible for a priest to fulfill; he enforced his will in lawful matters by his strength of character and indomitable energy. Had he not been a holy priest, the work that was fashioned by his hands would not, perhaps, have been so blessed by Divine assistance. Had his work not been solid and thorough, it would perhaps have lapsed even in his own lifetime. It prospers to-day." (p. 10).

This paragraph really summarizes the volume. The details

cover nearly three hundred and eighty alluring pages which record the story of Father Therry's difficulties, his zeal and his spirit of self-sacrifice. Father Therry incurred the wrath of British officialdom and lost the miserable pittance on which he depended for support; yet he toiled incessantly regardless of the insolent tyranny of petty colonial autocrats. The narrative of Father Therry's journeys is thrilling. A swollen river proved no obstacle to the zealous soggarth. A rope is flung across the river and with this round his waist he is dragged through the torrent to the opposite bank.

Father Therry occupied a large place in the controversial life of Australia. If we measure his methods by the bushel of modern ecclesiastical procedure they would seem somewhat "inexpedient" to supine clerics. Father O'Brien does not minimize the shortcomings of Father Therry. He deals fully and minutely with the differences of opinion between Father Therry and Bishop Willson. The misunderstandings were unfortunate and endured for more than a decade. Rome finally decided in Father Therry's favor (p. 247).

That Father Therry never received any earthly reward but the title of Archpriest is perhaps one of those instances where no title would adequately meet the case. That he was enshrined in the hearts of his people is evident; the Catholic's proudest boast in Australia was to say "I was baptized by Father Therry." Let him who desires to see his monument look upon the results of his labors. *"Si monumentum vis, circumspice."* His greatest memorial is the Australian Church. He founded it, alone and unaided; he spent almost every day of his missionary life in building it; when he saw his work finished, he could die.

P. W. B.

An American Apostle. By Very Rev. Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P., S.T.M. Washington, D. C.: The Dominicana. Pp. xvi + 341.

This volume is also biographical; but it differs from the work reviewed above in many respects. Father O'Daniel is possibly our best known American Catholic historian and recognized as the best equipped author in the field of early American ecclesi-

asticism. All his historical productions are characterized by what we dare term meticulous accuracy. Long years of training in the domain of historical research, incessant activities in gathering up stray threads in the historic fabric, strenuous labor in compiling, evaluating and collating data—such are the outstanding characteristics of the venerable historian of the Dominican Order in the United States.

In earlier works, notably in his *Life of Bishop Fenwick*, Father O'Daniel revealed to the discriminating reader and student of American Church history the possession of the "historic sense" which has given him a high place in the list of biographers. He appraises men and facts with precision and does it ever most graciously. He is never dull, though he never attempts the ornate in his narrative. He eschews literary pyrotechnics, and in style unadorned he pursues the even tenor of simplicity in discussing the various phases of his subject. In less experienced hands the subject discussed in the volume before us might have become stereotyped and uninteresting; but Father O'Brien—An American Apostle—lives in its simple pages owing to the patient labor and persistent charm of Father O'Daniel's manner of presentation.

Father Matthew Anthony O'Brien, O.P., is not inaptly termed an "American Apostle," for he spent himself most fruitfully for the sake of Christ. Like every true apostle he realized that his success would be commensurate with his own purity of motive and sanctity of life. He was ever "about His Father's business" dispensing the sacraments, preaching the word of God, directing individual souls and building sanctuaries to the honor and glory of God. Though he did not play a spectacular rôle in the external life of the Church in the United States, yet in the spiritual upbuilding he worked wisely and well.

The work, like all Father O'Daniel's publications, is splendidly ordered. It is enriched with seven excellent illustrations, has a valuable bibliography and is furnished with a comprehensive index.

Barring an occasional *lapsus plumae* and a few typographical errors (e. g. Condillac, for Cadillac, on page 202) the volume is well printed and in a very attractive format. It is a most valuable contribution to the ecclesiastical history of the United

States and has an interest for Canadian readers since Father O'Brien was identified with the early history of the Diocese of London, Ontario, whose occupant at present is the Right Rev. M. F. Fallon, one of Canada's greatest churchmen.

P. W. B.

The Religion of the Primitives. By Right Rev. Alexander Roy Superior-General of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost. Translated by Newton Thompson, D.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. x + 334.

It has been a prevalent impression, even a theory magnified into a "fact" by a certain class of writers that man has evolved religion under the impulse of self-preservation and that the human race unaided by any objective revelation or intervention of Divine Providence has advanced gradually from a preanimistic stage into animism and thence into the higher realms culminating in the monotheism of the Jews. The Biblical account of the birth and growth of religion is repudiating and Scriptural teaching destitute of belief.

Those who have written largely upon the subject under discussion have for the most part discussed it from misconceptions derived from hearsay. Few know the exact situation which can be learned only from association with primitive peoples. Monsignor Roy says that he, when setting out upon his mission to Africa more than a quarter of a century ago had pictured savage races with no religion, no morality, with no family life. After coming into contact with the so-called primitive races he found them possessing the basic foundation of Christianity, though the exterior form was a queer melange of customs, superstition and magic.

"Everywhere among the Negrillos and Bantus, as well as throughout Africa," says Msgr. Le Roy, "God has a name. .....As each family has its father and each clan its ancestor, so each tribe or group of tribes of the same origin wishes to have its God..... They have given a special name to the Supreme Being, as if to localize Him with them; hence the different names under which God is known on the black continent.

Real idolatry .... the adoration of an image or statue .... does not exist in the black country. What we do find there is a

worship of images or fetishes where it is thought spirits or genii dwell, or exercise their influence. These spirits, after the manner of the Latins, in our languages are improperly called 'gods.' But this confusion is not made by the Blacks.

One day at Bagamojo, I was present at the departure of a European. He was going into the interior to look for ivory at Tabira. The caravan, composed of Nyamwezis, was ready to leave. The chief of the porters uttered an invocation: 'May God be favorable to us!' 'God?' replied the European, who, no doubt, wished to pose in a swaggering way and to magnify himself in the eyes of his men, 'we have no need of Him. My God is my money and my gun.'

The porters looked at him, put down their burdens and began to withdraw. The European asked me to intercede. 'No,' these poor people replied, 'this white man is bad; did you not hear him insult God? With him we would be sure to have misfortune.' And they all left him.

As God is nowhere the object of any material representation, as the family and tribal cult is first of all addressed to the names of their ancestors, as no magic art can reach God, who is inaccessible to man, and as ordinarily He wishes us only well, they are very little concerned about Him except in words; hence travelers have passed through Africa, seeing scarcely a trace of Him anywhere in the religion of the natives.

The existence of the human soul is universally believed, even though their ideas as to its nature are greatly confused. In the elaborate preparations and ceremonies following death these primitives manifest their belief in the immortality of the soul, and the existence of places of reward and condemnation. Death disengages the soul from the bonds of corporeal matter to take up its dwelling "over there," and the ceremonies of burial assure the departed of rest and a happy voyage.

Monsignor Le Roy cites authorities to bear out his evidence as to the religion of these primitives, and in this field of exploration, to which he has given diligent and intelligent study, he has been greatly aided by his own personal association with the situation.

The task of the missionary in these parts of Africa is doubly difficult, for he must first learn the language of the tribe, before he can undertake the sifting of the wheat from the chaff.

The environment in which the primitive lived exerted its influence over him and natural phenomena, such as cyclones, hurricanes or whirlwinds were attributed to spirits from another world. The strength of the elements brings a realization to every man that he is not the master of his own destiny—that rests in another's hands.

Monsignor Le Roy has given us his intelligent study for review on the comparisons he has made of the religion of the primitives. Up to the last chapter he confines himself to facts bearing on them alone, and little or nothing is said of Christianity and the Catholic religion. One has little difficulty, however, in drawing the reasonable conclusion from such a scientific expose, which can be summed up in the words of St. Augustine who said: "What is now called the Christian religion, existed among the ancients and was not absent from the beginning of the human race even until Christ came in the flesh; from which time the true religion, already long in existence, began to be called Christian."

Religion has ever been the tie between God and man, between the supernatural and the natural, between heaven and earth. Prayer and sacrifice are manifestations of worship since time began. Reverence, respect and recognition prompt love for the creator and God.

Father Thompson, the translator, has done his work thoroughly and painstakingly. There are occasional slips in the rendition of some idiomatic French expression; but this could hardly have been avoided. The writer saw Dr. Thompson's task in course of fulfilment. Much of it was done during the otherwise crowded horarium of a busy teacher with little leisure to prune and pare. We congratulate a former confére on his splendid achievement.

P. W. B.

A History of France from the Death of Louis XI. Vol. II. Reign of Charles VIII, 1493-1498. By John C. Bridge. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York. Pu. xvi, + 356. Price $5.35.

The present volume of this grandly planned work takes up the personal rule of Charles VIII, while Vol. I, treated entirely of the administration of his sister, Anne de Beaujeu as regent

during his minority. This volume is prevalently military, being chiefly an account of the conquest and loss of the Kingdom of Naples, which with preparations and aftermaths filled out almost entirely the brief personal reign of the young king. The author grants that Charles VIII himself was probably convinced of the justice of his claims to that fair kingdom, but he shows conclusively that in themselves these claims were completely unfounded.

After giving an admirable description of the political conditions of the small states in Italy the author enters deeply into all the details of this unique war and discloses to us the secret work of intrigue, wirepulling, and made and broken promises which made possible the success and the final failure of the enterprise. Charles' army without doubt was better in men, equipment, and morale than the forces that opposed it. But it was chiefly the petty jealousy and domestic disunion of the Italian city states, that made the march of the French through northern and central Italy one triumphal procession. Due to the hatred of the Neapolitans, caused by the despotic rule of two of its last kings there was next to no resistance in the kingdom itself. But the reverse came quickly. The king failed to establish a regular and firm government, appointed only Frenchmen to the higher and highest offices, while the outrages committed by his soldiers against property and life and women exasperated the population to the utmost. Meanwhile a league of Italian and other states had been formed secretly, and hardly had Charles VIII taken possession of the new throne, when he realized that only a speedy return to France could save him from disaster. After his departure a revolution broke out against his victory; the former king, vigorously supported by Spain, returned; and in spite of the bravery displayed by the little French garrisons the kingdom was as quickly lost as it had been won.

Charles VIII was a contemporary of Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503), who extricated himself well enough from the difficulties in which the war put him, Naples being a fief of the Holy See. But at that particular period we are not prepared to hear pope and prelates praised as unselfish, unworldly servants of the Church. It is not the author's fault if cardinals and other ecclesiastics, the pope himself included, do not shine with

those virtues which we have a right to expect in them. Nor does the author introduce religious matters or ecclesiastical personages more prominently than their share in the great French enterprise actually requires. But the rôle played by Savonarola, the visionary reformer at Florence, in the temporary expulsion of the Medici and in shaping the attitude of that city towards the king, it would seem, is underrated. If some barbarous customs of the Balkan mercenaries of Italian armies prompt the author to drop a remark about "the dissemination of *Kultur* in a later age," this is rather amusing in view of the fact that not many pages before he has told us of the excesses committed by the French in Naples.

A very welcome addition are the well selected and carefully catalogued bibliographies, which no doubt will be of great service to all those who wish to make their own independent studies. Several points, too, find a separate treatment in detached articles, as, the question whether the French brought syphilis into Europe when returning from Naples.

While not wishing to emphasize his opinion more than it deserves the present reviewer thinks that the work, of which this is the second volume, fills a want in English historical literature, and that this volume augurs well for the quality of its successors, which, let us hope, will not be too long in appearing.

F. S. B.

Law and Its Administration. Harlan F. Stone. Columbia University Press.

In eight compact articles, originally delivered, in 1915, as lectures to the students of Columbia University, the Attorney General offers to the lay reader an exposition of "some of the more fundamental notions which underlie our legal system." Clear, dispassionate and cogent, the sketches in question are admirably suited to promote their author's purpose of "aiding a better understanding and possibly removing some popular misconception of law and lawyers."

Mr. Stone is by no means an unqualified defender of the American legal profession, since in his lecture on "Bench and Bar" he regrets the "deterioration of our bar both in its personnel, its corporate morale, and, consequently in the public in-

fluence wielded by it," and further remarks that "this deterioration has been very considerably accelerated during the present generation." The American "Bench and Bar" are unfavorably, but justly, contrasted with those of Great Britain, where, as the Attorney General points out, there is little dissatisfaction with either. Mr. Stone's searching analysis, however, of the comparative standing of the appointive federal bench and that of Massachusetts with the elective judiciary of most of the states of our Union leaves little escape from his conclusion that the deterioration complained of is largely due to the lay public, which has deprived both bench and bar of the safeguards that formerly in this country, and still in Great Britain, kept out the unfit from the ranks of each.

A judiciary absolutely divorced from politics and political considerations is indeed the primary "legal reform," for such a judiciary would restore the American bar to that commanding position which it once occupied.

Without the employment of either irony or satire, Mr. Stone effectively disposes of the advocates of the substitution of the vague and elusive standards of what is vaguely and elusively termed "social justice" for fixed and certain legal principles. The ordinary lay reader, however, will probably be most impressed and attracted by the Attorney General's lucid and wholly adequate explanation of why it is that "law" is not always "justice." Having already established the necessity of the law being general and fixed, Mr. Stone very facilely demonstrates that while these qualities may in particular instances "affect the application of a rule of law in a way which would seem unfair and unjust" yet a criticism of the law as a whole based upon such an application or applications fails to take into consideration that the attainment of these indispensible attributes renders it "inevitable that the private sense of what is fair between individuals yield to that larger sense of justice which takes into account the welfare of the whole community." Mr. Stone drives home this point with such wealth of apt illustration and such power of ineluctable logic that even the most unfriendly lay mind can scarcely avoid admitting its correctness.

In his lecture on "Nature and Functions of the Law," the Attorney General would seem to dispose too lightly of the theory

that law is very largely crystallized custom. While it is unquestionably true that this is no longer the case, it may well be doubted if this departure from the genesis of the "common law" is not, after all, the source of all our ills. Again, when discussing "Fundamental Legal Conceptions," Mr. Stone remarks that "law gives rise to rights in individuals," thus failing to recognize or stress the fact that in any well-balanced and praiseworthy system of jurisprudence legal rules are designed for the protection rather than the creation of rights. But these imperfections, if such they be, are quite insignificant when compared to the solid merits of the Attorney General's substantial contribution to a somewhat neglected and quite important department of legal literature.

HORACE H. HAGAN.

The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. By J. Frank Smith, Lecturer in Education, University College, Aberystwyth. London: John Murray.

James Phillips Kay,—the additional surname was assumed on his marriage to Miss Janet Shuttleworth in 1842,—was born in Rochdale, Lancs., in 1804, the son of a cotton manufacturer who was a convinced Nonconformist and a mother whose fervid evangelical piety was accompanied with no slight amount of shrewd commonsense. He was a child of the Industrial Revolution, brought up in the intense early days of the nineteenth century in a manufacturing town to whose industries the last years of the eighteenth century had brought expansion and prosperity. "Nine points out of ten in him are utilitarian—the tenth is artistic," wrote Charlotte Bronte in 1850 in a letter containing what the biographer calls 'her superficial and inadequate analysis of his character,' an analysis that would yet seem to some readers of this volume not very far from the truth. But it was the tenth point, his idealism, that made this biography worth the writing; for that it was which took him at the age of twenty from his uncle's bank to the University of Edinburgh and led him there and in later years to devote his time and his enormous energy to work for the improvement of the masses of the people.

While studying medicine at Edinburgh he worked as assist-

ant in the New Town Dispensary and as clerk in the Queensberry Fever Hospital, where he necessarily became familiar with the foul slums in which the working population seemed to be continually perishing. The somewhat rhetorical description that occurs in a letter written by Mr. Kay in 1827 shows how deeply he was impressed by his hospital experience: "In hospitals we see the worst features of the character of men—they are, in these Golgothas, distorted by vice, the victims of misery and disease, writhing under the agony of present torture with neither philosophy nor religion to point to consolation and hope. These wards hold the vilest and most abject, the abandoned of all happiness and virtue in their worst, often their hopeless extremity."

From Edinburgh, where he took his degree in 1827, Dr. Kay went to Manchester where also he was brought into contact with one of the poorest parts of the city. As he became increasingly familiar with the condition and life of the poor, his interests moved away from purely medical questions; agitation over the Reform Bill aroused his interest in political reform; the outbreak of cholera in 1832 led him to accept the view that moral and physical evils interact and to a consequent insistence on drastic measures for the betterment of living conditions among the poor,—free trade, the abolition of the corn laws, and above all provisions for education. He founded the Manchester Statistical Society, a step that marked the beginning of a new method of handling social problems. These nonprofessional interests injured his standing as a physician; and with the acceptance in 1835 of an appointment as Assistant Poor Law Commissioner in charge of Norfolk and Suffolk he began his career of public administration. At an early date his interest was aroused in the workhouse children and he saw that the safest remedy for the existent unwholesome conditions would be to prepare the pauper child by education for a life of honest independence. At last he had found his proper field to the intensive cultivation of which the most important years of his life were devoted—public education.

Half of the volume is given to a consideration of the decade, 1839-49 during which its subject was secretary to the Committee of the Privy Council on Education. The story is one that

should not be neglected by students interested in the social history of modern England, and it might well be read by educationists. History never repeats itself, and much that loomed large in the eyes of the mid-Victorians may seem to be of little moment now; yet certain factors are constant and problems that perplexed the pioneers of popular education persist, unsolved, to this day. A physical breakdown at the end of 1848 was one result of Kay-Shuttleworth's work; the reward of a baronetcy on his retirement a year later was another; more lasting was his accomplishment referred to by a cabinet minister (Forster) in introducing the great Education Bill of 1870, when he spoke of Sir James as "the man to whom probably more than any other we owe national education in England."

After leaving office Kay-Shuttleworth's life became less public and the education question became a complex story of divided effort and local movements. He worked hard in the Fifties in the interest of higher education for the artisan class, largely through evening classes, trade schools, and mechanics institutes. The Revised Code of 1861 meant the undoing of all his work, and his criticisms helped bring about some modification of its provisions, though not enough to overcome his strongest objections to it. Whether the decline in public education under the Code was not due in part to other causes than its departure from Sir James's principles is a point that may here be passed over.

The limits placed on a review necessitate passing over in silence much that is noteworthy in this biography. It is not an easy volume to read, its style rather heavy, its excerpts from Kay-Shuttleworth rather lengthy and verbose. Nor is the present writer so enamoured of the hagiological manner in biography as to share the author's conviction that Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth was always right and his opponents either blind or wrong-headed.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

Benedictine Monachism: Studies in Benedictine Life and Rule. By Dom Cuthbert Butler, Monk of Downside Abbey. (Second edition with supplementary notes). London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1924. Pp. x + 424.

Monasticism was introduced into western Europe from

Egypt, on the Antonian model, the dominating principle of which was a spirit of individualism; and though in practice the institution tended to become cenobitical, the great object of the monks was to emulate the Egyptian hermits. When about the year 500 St. Benedict resolved to become a monk, he retired to a cave where he lived in entire solitude and practiced great austerities. Disciples gathered about him, and in the neighborhood he established twelve monasteries of twelve monks each under abbots whom he appointed. But when he came to write the Rule for his monastery of Monte Cassino, (founded c. 525), and for any other communities that might wish to follow it, he abandoned the earlier ideas that he had followed at Subiaco. "We are going to establish a school of God's service, in which we hope we shall establish nothing harsh, nothing burthensome," The artificial, self-inflicted penances that figured so largely in Egyptian monachism and that have made their appearance again and again in mediaeval and modern times are unknown to the Rule; as are also the more natural bodily austerities such as privation of food and sleep, or exposure to the inclemencies of the weather. For his monks St. Benedict provided sufficient food, ample sleep, proper clothing. His asceticism was placed primarily in the renunciation of self-will; and in this he is as uncompromising as in matters of bodily austerities he is indulgent.

St. Benedict's most important and characteristic contribution to the course of western monachism was the introduction of the vow of Stability, by which the monk is bound to an irrevocable life in community in the monastery of his profession. The Benedictine monk is a member not of an order so much as of a family—the community of the particular house in which he is professed. St. Benedict erected the monastery into a family, and according to the Rule each monastic family is a separate unit with an independent life of its own. Not for some centuries after his time was any system of organization attempted to bind monasteries more closely together and so modify the primeval isolation in which individual houses of the Black Monks had stood and flourished. The Cluniac ideal of a great central monastery with numerous dependencies forming a vast feudal hierarchy was a deflection from St. Benedict's idea; and if the

later grouping of houses of the Black Monks into congregations be regarded as a development rather than a deflection (it is possible in such congregations to safeguard the autonomy of the individual monasteries) yet even that development is not free from danger. The modern tendency toward centralization disturbs Dom Butler, who is reconciled to Pope Leo XIII's scheme of bringing the congregations into some kind of confederation only because it has been in the main a failure.

The ideal of the Benedictine family is shown not alone in the separate and independent life of each community that makes close confederation an impossibility, but also in the internal government of the monastery, in the position of the Abbot in the Benedictine economy. St. Benedict's abbot is primarily the father of the family; he seems not so anxious that the abbot be a disciplinarian or even a saint as that he should be endowed with good sense and discretion. It is needful that he should be in a general way the spiritual guide of his monks, but by this is not meant a fussy, meddlesome direction so common now-a-days According to the Rule the abbot should be chosen for life; and though mighty works have been accomplished by Black Monks under abbots chosen for a term of years, even a short term, the return to the Rule would be advantageous. A family does not change its father every four years, nor yet every eight or twelve. Untrammelled authority and undivided responsibility mark the abbot's position,—St. Benedict's conception was unquestionably derived from the paterfamilias of Roman law,—and these are hardly compatible with limited tenure of office. The simple ideal of the spiritual father of the family underwent strange transformations after St. Benedict's day: there were the great feudal lords of the middle age, and the "grand prelat" type of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; but the present tendency is to return to the primitive ideal.

Thus far, using in so far as possible the author's own words, I have dealt with those matters that stand out most clearly in the earlier and larger part of this work: the Benedictine ideal of spiritual asceticism unaccompanied by great bodily austerity, the autonomous and autocephalous character of the community, the conception of family life. The later chapters are more sketchy and, on the whole, less satisfactory; though there is none

that will not repay reading. In the preface to this edition Dom Butler says "that some reviewers have looked on the book as a sort of Benedictine History, and have criticized its shortcomings as such; this, however, is not its real character." And that is true enough; he writes of ideals rather than of achievements, and of monachism rather than of monks. Yet the historical element, while strictly subordinated to the main purpose of the work, is present; the author speaks of "theory, practice, history" as the range of the ground covered; so it is not surprising that students of history should devote their attention largely to the historical portions. One may be allowed to express regret that in preparing a second edition, no changes were made in the text.

The supplementary notes, pp. 387-420, are taken up in the main with replies to Benedictine critics, dealing not with minutae only but with the author's main thesis—that the true Benedictine tradition is still maintained. A careful study of Dom Butler's book, with as thorough a study of the objections raised as circumstances will permit, leads the present writer to the conclusion that Dom Butler establishes his case.

It remains only to say that the appearance of a second edition within five years of the first is welcome evidence at once of interest in the subject matter of the book and of the manner in which the author deals with his material. The work is one that no student of ecclesiastical institutions can afford to neglect, and it will prove invaluable to those who desire to gain an insight into the philosophy of Benedictinism or to understand the dynamic of monachism.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

A History of Rome, by Tenney Frank. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1923. Pp. viii + 613.

Professor Frank's deep knowledge of the historical material of ancient Rome and his skilful execution of the best principles of historical research have been exhibited to the world of scholarship before, especially in his "Economic History of Rome" and "Vergil: A Biography." In the present work we are again indebted to Professor Frank for a profitable new treatment of old material with a proper consideration of the new.

In his rehandling of old sources Professor Frank lays a new

stress in turning the emphasis away from the imperialistic problems of Rome to her earlier attempts at developing an effective government while trying to preserve democratic institutions. Modern European nations have experienced a devolution, as it were, from late Roman autocracy: hence their main interest in imperialistic questions, an interest which has crept into our own histories through those emanating from Europe. Our own state, like the Roman Republic, plunged at once into experimenting with more or less clearly accepted theories of popular sovereignty, and it is this phase of Rome's history in which we are mainly interested. Professor Frank's work, however, is the first History of Rome which has been presented to us with this emphasis.

Professor Frank is forced by the compass of his book to consider only a fraction of the known facts, but these have been selected rigorously with his main point of emphasis in mind. In treating the Ciceronian period, he has disregarded this rule in favor of fulness of detail. His justification for this departure in method is that only in this period is the evidence so full as to enable the historian to present a full and accurate picture of Rome's everyday political and social life, and it would seem decidedly worth while in one chapter at least to gain an intimate impression of how the Romans actually conducted themselves.

In treating the sources, Professor Frank has seen fit to give more than customary weight to the earlier historians of Rome like Fabius Pictor. He considers it incorrect to ascribe to such men the loose historical methods that were followed by the rhetorical romancers who wrote for entertainment in Sulla's day. They were trained statesmen, and the care and knowledge they employed in affairs of state they doubtless used in their composition of history. Furthermore, in Professor Frank's opinion, the common assumption that most records were destroyed by the Gauls in 390 B. C. is far from probable, and this would mean much reliable historical data at the service of these historians. Again, modern archaeological researches not only lend weight to these ideas, but establish faith in the early traditions recorded by the later authors and generally disregarded by modern historians of the ultra-skeptical and as it were "over-scientific" type.

This new attitude towards the sources gives Professor Frank an increased amount of material for his main objective, the presentation of democratic policies and institutions, and of this he makes the fullest use. Professor Frank presents his History of Rome as a consecutive story and not as a reference book of paragraphed facts. However, besides its value as a history for the general reader, it may well be used as a text-book in college classes, and it will be found very useful also for the teacher of Caesar, Cicero, and Virgil who would understand well the period of authors whom they teach.

ROY J. DEFERRARI.

The Villas of Pliny the Younger, by Helen H. Tanzer. New York: Columbia University Press, 1924. Pp. xxii + 152.

This book, a chapter in the history of the habitations of man, will be very welcome to the scholar who is familiar with Pompei and to the tourist who has visited the resurrected city. It will also prove a useful handbook for the teacher who desires to interest his students in the Roman house. It may be regarded as a compilation, but it is extremely useful since it contains in one volume the opinions of the different scholars on the Villas of Pliny.

The book has been made most attractive by a high quality of paper and printing, and especially by fifty-six plates of ruins, restorations, and plans of Pliny's villas. Were one to look at nothing but the illustrations, he would be deeply impressed by the elaborate care with which the Romans of the early empire built their homes, aiming as they did for every possible comfort.

The price of the book, $2.50, is not too high, considering the great number of plates.

ROY J. DEFERRARI.

NOTICES

Ginn and Company have just published for high school classes in civics, geography, and economics the following volumes: *Africa, Australia, and the Islands of the Pacific* by Nellie B. Allen (pp. 448), a splendid historical geography with a wealth of cuts and maps and a mine of information new to most of us as well as to high school students; *Essentials of the New Agriculture*, by Henry Jackson Waters (pp. 549), virtually the material for a short course in agriculture and a key of knowledge to the farming life and wealth of our nation; and *Principles of Rural Economics* (pp. 386), by Professor Thomas Carver of Harvard University, with incidentally some emphasis on the history of agriculture particularly in the United States.

Federal and Unified Constitutions, edited with a historical introduction, by Arthur Percival Newton, Rhodes professor of imperial history in the University of London. Longmans, Green and Co., London: 1923. Pp. 444.

The assembling in a single volume of most of the historically important federal constitutions, together with Professor Newton's carefully prepared introduction, will be a boon to students of political institutions and most serviceable as a reference book for classes in British, German, and American history. All the constitutions are not printed in full but are at least well calendared: Act of Union of United Netherland, 1579; Confederation of New England; Union of England and Scotland; Declaration of Independence; Articles of Confederation; Annapolis Resolutions; Constitution of the United States; Federal Pact of Switzerland, 1815; Act of Union of Upper and Lower Canada, 1840; Constitution of Confederate States, 1861; British North America Act, 1867; Constitution of the German Empire, 1871; Swiss Federal Constitution, 1874; Acts of Parliament Establishing a Government for New Zealand, 1846, 1852, the Federation of Leeward Isles, Federal Council of Australasia, 1885, Commonwealth of Australia, 1900, and Union of South Africa, 1909; Constitution of the Republic of Brazil, 1891; and the Constitution of Germany 1919. A good index makes the book easy to use. Provincial Americans will be startled on seeing our liberty documents in such a series and so apparently an object lesson and an influence in the direction of German federalization and British legislative and imperial federations. R. J. P.

Sources and Documents Illustrating the American Revolution 1764-1788 and the formation of the Federal Constitution, Selected and edited by S. E. Morison. Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1923. Pp. 367.

As lecturer in Harvard and professor of American history at Oxford, Dr. Morison has caught the English and American views, modern as well as contemporary, concerning the questions at issue between England and

the colonies. To him he writes: "The American Revolution belongs not only to America; it is an important part of the great liberal movement of the eighteenth century, a portend of dominion home rule, and a labratory of imperial and federal problems" (p. 1). Therefore his splendid introduction of forty pages and his documentary and source excerpts cover the critical period until the formation of the permanent constitution. Not until then, if even then, were the fruits of the Revolution, the dividends of the struggle, actually guaranteed. Too often is it forgotten that as the colonies fought for greater self-government and a loosening of imperial control, that within several of the colonies there was quite as determined a struggle of the under-represented, democratic, sectarian frontier against a dominant taxing, tide-water landed or commercial aristocracy. Again the western lands, Indian question, and fur trading rivalries are apt to be overlooked.

Dr. Morison sees the movement in a broad way. His excerpts deal with every political phase. Military, diplomatic, and economic selections have been intentionally excluded. In addition to the usual documents, the student will find for the first time so easily available selections from Patrick Henry, Otis, Soame Genyn, Daniel Dulany, John Dickinson, James Wilson, Joseph Galloway, Joseph Warren and other counselors and pamphleteers. Critical acts, laws, instructions are given in part: The Virginia Bill of Rights, Virginia Statute of Religious Liberty, Ordinances of 1785 and 1787, and selections from the constitutional debates in the Convention and the debates on ratification in Virginia. Withal, it is a most handy reference volume for the library and teachers of the late colonial period. R. J. P.

The Constitution of the United States, an Historical Survey of its Formation. By Robert Livingston Schuyler. Macmillan Company, New York: 1923. Pp. 211.

This essay on the formation of the Constitution contains the substance of a series of lectures which Professor Schuyler of Columbia University delivered at Cambridge University and at the London School of Economics and Political Science during the summer of 1921. An excellent interpretation of the spirit of our constitution for an English audience, in print and chapter form the lectures should interest students and high school teachers as well as men in general who would better understand the genesis of American federal government. It is readable, never heavy, calm and dispassionate, and simple in diction.

There is no depreciation of the work or abilities of the framers nor any glorification of them as superhuman men, demi-gods as Jefferson in ecstacy described them. There is no hesitation to trace English precedents and origins, to see the constitution as a "bundle of compromises" evolved by very human men from the experiences of individual colonies, earlier attempts at union and the Articles of Confederation, and to recognize the weight of economic pressure behind the drafting and the ratification by the states. He does not fail to suggest how little practical men in

the Convention were governed by the theories of Grotius and Locke or the experiences of the ancients, nor does he emphasize Blackstone as a source with the stress of C. E. Stevens, Sir Henry Maine or even of Lord Bryce. He is a little hard on the late Hannis Taylor's Pelatiah Webster theory, but most students of the constitution will believe rightly so. Special students who know Farrand's *Debates, Eliot's Debates, The Federalist*, Farrand's *Framing of the Constitution* and *Fathers of the Constitution*, Beard's *Economic Interpretation*, Burgess's *Comparative Constitutional Law*, Libby's *Geographical Distribution of the Vote*, and Fisher's *Evolution of the Constitution* will find few new notes, but they will recognize in Dr. Schuyler's book a delightful survey of the period. R. J. P.

History of the Studebaker Corporation, by Albert Russel Erskine. Donnelly and Sons, Chicago: 1924. Pp. 230.

Refashioning an earlier edition of 1918 intended for the stockholders and employees, President Erskine, himself typical of America's self-made, successful chieftains of industry, has embodied in his book an inspiring illustration of that Romance of Big Business of which the Rev. Dr. Cavanaugh of Notre Dame University spoke at a Studebaker celebration. It is more than the story of the growth of H. & C. Studebaker Company of 1852 with a capital of $68 and two forges to the present corporation with a hundred million dollar equipment and assets. It is more than the rise of a wagoner and blacksmith's plant into a concern doing an international business. Between the lines, it sketches the development of the agricultural west and the rise of industrialism in the region of Chicago and the Great Lakes.

The Studebakers made good wagons. The emigrants to California and the Mormons used them so extensively that a branch was established in Missouri. The farmers of the midwest took pride in their wagons, as the city folk in their buggies. The Civil War brought government orders for carts and gun carriages. Returning veterans made the Studebaker product known in the East. The concern established branches and warehouses and grew rapidly. It widened its output to include harness and leather goods as well as horse-drawn vehicles of all kinds for city, farm, or lumber camp. By the end of the century, it was supplying wagons for British service in the Boer War, winning a reputation which brought large contracts for harness, wagons, wheels, and stock in the Great War from British and allied purchasing agents.

In 1911 as a reorganized corporation, the company on a large scale entered the automobile trade. With the entry of the United States into the war, Studebakers was largely turned over to war production, sacrificing as Mr. Erskine proves commercial profits for the satisfaction of national service. It is this record of which he writes with greatest pride and at greatest length. The war over, the corporation voted to confine itself to the manufacture of automobiles and farm wagons.

It is a good book of reading for the class in industrial history with its material on business management, sections on engineering and sales prob-

lems and profit-sharing and co-operative plans. The account of the company's museum is of more than passing interest with wagons, carriages, and machines of all periods, including the carriages of Lafayette, Grant, Harrison, and Lincoln—the last the one in which the martyred president rode on the eve of his assassination. Naturally, there is much in the volume of purely advertising nature. R. J. P.

The English Traveller in America, 1785-1835, by Jane Louise Mesick, Ph.D. Columbia University Press, New York: 1922. Pp. 370.

A doctoral dissertation offered to the department of English in Columbia University, Miss Mesick's book is highly interesting and valuable as a study of the social, religious, and intellectual life of the early national period. Based on some eighty British travellers, Miss Mesick ends in her title for no small number of the chroniclers are Irish and Scottish, the author has culled their books of travel, guides and gazetteers for her materials, incidentally subjecting their facts to a fairly critical test and at times editorial correction. The information so obtained has been woven skillfully into a dozen chapters treating of motives and geography, emigrants and travellers, manners and customs, care of afflicted, slavery, agriculture, manufactures, and industry, trade, education and literature, religion, national character and famous controversies.

The reader will learn much. He will see America through foreign eyes. He will obtain a not unfriendly British viewpoint of American society and institutions, though the evaluation is somewhat lower than contemporary Americans would accept. The reader will obtain a broader grasp of the life of the average man and innumerable impressions concerning schools, the stage, travelling, means of communication, hardships of immigrants, primitive living and the backwardness of coast as well as frontier, which a deep reading in orthodox history might not provide. It is therefore a good book of readings for classes in the social sciences.

The chapter on religion merits special attention. British travellers writing often for prospective immigrants dwell on the American lack of religious establishment, coming to the conclusion that the land is not thereby less conspicuously religious. Even in Massachusetts, the old theocratic control and legal limitations disappeared in the main by the end of the period. There is passing reference to a growth of infidelity, a slack observance of the Sabbath, especially in the South, the origin of Sunday Schools, the foundation of the American Bible Society (1816) and earliest missionary efforts, the insecurity of tenure of the preacher called by his congregation, and a comparison of the salaries of settled preachers with the pittance of stray circuit-riders. A paragraph or more is given to the travellers' impressions of the various sects, the respectable and fashionable Episcopalians with Trinity and St. Paul's churches, the liberal Unitarians with the celebrated Doctor Channing, the Congregational-Presbyterians flourishing in New England and through the Yankee settlements of the West, the insignificant but growing Baptist adherents, the radically regarded Universalists, and the Methodists whose religious observances

and revivals were considered harshly enough by unsympathetic observers. Minor organizations are merely noticed, Jews, Quakers, Shakers, and others.

Concerning the Catholic Church the writer learned from a dozen travellers, whose accounts here as elsewhere are carefully cited that: "This last-named denomination was much in the minority during this period. They were confined chiefly to Maryland, and to the larger cities on the coast, New Orleans particularly. Baltimore was called the headquarters of Catholicism and had the distinction of possessing the most beautiful cathedral in the country. It was built in the form of a Greek cross, and contained the largest organ in America. The Catholics apparently made few attempts to gain proselytes from the other denominations, but depended largely upon the great number of European emigrants, chiefly Irish, to swell their numbers. In 1824, it was said that they did not comprise one-tenth of the population; ten years later, Murray calls attention to their rapid increase, especially in the Western States. In regard to the attitude of other sects toward them, there was a difference of opinion; for instance, Candler says they were nowhere viewed with jealousy, but Miss Martineau speaks of the bitter persecution of them throughout the country." (Pp. 261-262). R. J. P.

Historical Records and Studies (1924. Pp. 145) contains a number of noteworthy essays, a eulogy of its late president, Mr. Stephen Fanelly, and an appreciation of Cardinals Mundelein and Hayes by Mr. M. J. Madigan. Father Joseph Fischer, S.J., contributes an article on "Hieronymus Munzer: a Rival of Columbus"; Father Michael Earls, S.J., on "The First Catholic Novelist of New England; Mrs. Margaret B. Downing an intensely interesting sketch of early Washington, "The Royal Road to the Capitol"; Rev. Dr. F. J. Zwierlein scholarly chapters "Rochester's Catholic Pioneers" and "Early Dutch Toleration in New Netherland"; Mr. Thomas Meehan a characteristic essay on "Lincoln's opinion of Catholics"; Mr. W. H. Bennett and Mr. T. J. Riordan respectively write "The Order of the Alhambra' and "A Century of Catholic Progress"; and Rev. Dr. Thomas Coakley has an appreciation of the late Rev. Monsignor Lambing of Pittsburgh, pastor, writer, and historian. There is much valuable history in the volume to which the student of the church must give due consideration. It is a worthy year book of The United States Catholic Historical Society. R. J. P.

Principles of A Note-System for Historical Studies, by Earle W. Dow. The Century Company, New York: 1924. Pp. 200.

Professor Dow of Michigan counselling with other specialists has described with some seventy-seven example-charts a system of effective note-taking. He does not lay down stereotyped formulas, remembering that note-taking must be elastic depending on the purpose in view and upon the individual, but offers suggestions and advice which will be beneficial to

older researchers as well as amateurs in systematizing their notes. It should prove a boon to the seminar room, though it meets the needs of a far wider range of note-takers than the title would indicate, for instance students of all the social sciences, journalists and lecturers. R. J. P.

In the Columbia University *Series in History, Economics and Public Law*, there appears *The Bank of North Dakota: an Experiment in Agrarian Banking* (1924. Pp. 210) by Alvin S. Tostlebe, Ph.D., instructor in economics, a study of western agricultural problems, the Non-partisan League and its legislation, agrarian marketing and banking; and *A New American Commercial Policy* (1924. Pp. 397) by Wallace McClure, Ph.D., member of the bar of Knoxville, Tenn., a study in elaborate detail of Section 317 of the 1922 Tariff Act.

NOTEWORTHY ARTICLES IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

Aboriginal Americans, New Light on the Origin of the. By Rev. Albert Muntsch, S.J. (*Fortnightly Review*, July 15).

Alexandria and the Mystical Writings of the Middle Ages in England. By M. G. Segar, M.A. (*Catholic World*, July).

Alliance, The Anglo-Dutch of 1678—Part I. By Clyde Leclare Grose. (*English Historical Review*, July).

Alsace-Lorraine, Language Campaigns in. By T. Corcoran. (*Studies*, June).

American Colleges, Student Self-Support in. By James H. Ryan. (*Studies*, June).

Ancient Books and Publishers. By Dom John Chapman. (*Downside Review*, July).

Apologetics and the New Psychology. By Rev. Felix Newton Pitt, A.M. (*Fortnightly Review*, July).

Back to Christ—or Chaos. By The Editor. (*Catholic World*, July).

Bernadette, The "Martyrdom" of. By Herbert Thurston. (*The Month*, July).

Bisanzio e il regno di Aksum. By Ignazio Guidi. (*L'Europa Orientale*, August).

Blessed Jordan of Saxony and England. By Bonaventure Meagher, O.P. (*Blackfriars*, August).

Bucer, Martin and the Conversion of John Calvin. By Hastings Eells. (*Princeton Theological Review*, July).

Bulle de Bonafice IX, Note sur la. Par E.H. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, July-Aug.).

Bunyan, A Medieval. By Stanley B. James. (*Ave Maria*, July 26).

Carcassonne, the Lost Ninth Century Bible of. By E. Power. (*Biblica* June).

Catholic College, Some Problems of: Teaching Schedules. By Rev. Edward B. Jordan, Ph.D. (*Catholic Educational Review*, June).

Catholic England, The Jews in. By Vera Telfer, B.A. (*Catholic World*, July).

Catholic Handbook, An International. By C. C. Martindale. (*The Month*, July).

Catholic Schools in Canada. By S. T. O. (*Fortnightly Review*, July).

Catholicism and Economics (III). By Christopher Dawson. (*Blackfriars*, July).

Charlemagne, La prière dite de, et les pièces apocryphes apparentées. L. Gougaud, O.S.B. (*Revue D'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, April).

Christian Sociology, Notes on. By E. Chill, S.J. (*Irish Monthly*, July).

Christianity and Culture. By Paul Florensky. (*The Pilgrim*, July).

Church and State in France, The Recent Encyclical and the Present Settlement of the Relations of. By C. W. Girdlestone, M.A. (Cambridge) (*Inter-University Magazine*, Summer Term).

Church Membership and Problems of Illiteracy. By Hugh Graham, M.A. (*Catholic Educational Review*, June).

Church, The, and Miraculous Cures. By Dr. E. le Bec. (*Catholic Medical Guardian*, July).

Civilization Dead and Gone. By Sir Bertram C. A. Windle, Ph.D., LL.D. (*Catholic World*, July).

Cleric and Aesthetic. By Frederic Manning. (*Quarterly Review*, July).

Congress, The Sixty-Eighth. By Charles A. McMahon. (*The Sign*, August).

Creating a Commonwealth. By A. J. Flynn. (*Colorado Magazine*, July).

Creativeness in Conduct and Religion. By Dr. Louis Arnaud Reid. (*Hibbert Journal*, July).

Crime, Playing up in the Press. By Arthur Preuss. (*Fortnightly Review*, July).

Divine Manhood and the Way of Achievement. By E. M. Caillard. (*The Pilgrim*, July).

Does the Church Lead? By William E. Hammond. (*Journal of Religion*, July).

Dogma as Metaphor. By Guy Kendall, M.A. (*Hibbert Journal*, July).

Doubtful Baptisms and the Pauline Privilege. By Rev. Joseph P. Donovan, C.M., J.C.D. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, July).

Ecclesiastical and Lay Courts, The Date of the Conqueror's Ordinance Separating the. By Curtis H. Walker. (*English Historical Review*, July).

England, The Soul of. By Louis Vincent. (*Catholic Truth*, July).

Erasmus, What of? By R. E. Brennan, O.P. (*Blackfriars*, August).

Experiment, A Northern. By W. Scholes (Sheffield). (*Inter-University Magazine*, Summer Term).

Far East, The, Two Centuries Ago. By Sir A. F. Hort, Bart. (*Edinburgh Review*, July).

Fascism, The Basis of. By Major J. S. Barnes. (*Edinburgh Review*, July).

For Extérieur et le For Intérieur, Un pretendu conflit entre le. Par G. Arendt, S.J. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, July-August).

Fr. Thomas Cooke Middleton, D.D., O.S.A. By Fr. Francis E. Tourscher, D.D., O.S.A. (*Records of American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, March).

Francis of Cardona; A Cheerful Ascetic. By James J. Daly. (*The Month*, July).

French Upheaval, Catholics in The. By Alphonse Lugan. (*Catholic World*, August).

Genteel Spirits and Fashionable Apparitions. By Louis J. McQuilland. (*Blackfriars*, July).

Gentleman Saint, A. By C. M. Hughes. (*Blackfriars*, August).

Germany's New Prophets. By Henry de Man. (*Yale Review*, July).

Gl'Italo-Greci di oggi. By G. Gabrieli. (*L'Europa Orientale*, August).

Gold Coast, Religion in the. By Rt. Rev. Mowbray Stephen O'Rorke, D.D. (*Hibbert Journal*, July).

Gonzales, Thyrsus, Home Missioner. By Rev. H. J. Swift, S.J. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, June).

Great Charter of 1215, the Originals of the. By Sir John C. Fox. (*English Historical Review*, July).

Henry of Windsor. By Dom Lucius Graham. (*Downside Review*, July).

Historical Revisions: XXX.—The Vikings. By Professor Allen Mawer. (*History*, July).

History and Literature. By G. M. Trevelyan, Litt.D. (*History*, July).

Hoppner, Richard Belgrave. By C. S. B. Buckland. (*English Historical Review*, July).

Humanity, The Worship of, Conclusion. By Rev. Owen Francis Dudley. (*Catholic Gazette*, July).

Il Bizantinismo e i cultori di esso in Italia. By F. De Simone Brouwer. (*L'Europa Orientale*, August).

Imagery, The World of: Nature of Metaphor. By Rev. Stephen J. Brown, S.J. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June).

Industrial Problem, Preaching on the. By Mgr. H. T. Henry, Litt.D. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, July).

Intolerance, The Re-Awakening of. By Ernest Cordeal. (*Fortnightly Review*, August).

Ireland's Story, Some incidents in: Saints, Scholars and Others. By Rev. E. J. Quigley. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June).

Irish Round Towers, The. By Rev. Cornelius Mennis, D.D. (*Truth*, July).

Is Spiritualism A Religion? By Rev. H. V. O'Neill. (*Catholic Gazette*, July).

Last Supper, The, and Calvary. By Rev. Maurice De La Taille, S.J. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, July).

Lausanne, Le Traité de et les Missions. Par Mgr. Beaupin. (*Revue D'Histoire Des Missions*, June).

L'Eglise et L'Etat, La Separation de.—Les Associations diocesaines de France et l'encyclique [Gravissimam]. Par A. Van Hove. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, July-August).

L'Eglise des Saints et le rigorisme primitif. Par E. Hocedez, S.I. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, May).

Leinster States and Kings in Christian Times. By Rev. Paul Walsh, M.A. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, July).

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Life, Soul and Memory, What Are. By Lieut.-Col. O'Gorman, C.M.G., M.D. (*Catholic Medical Guardian*, July).

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London, Some Recent Contributions to the Early History of. By A. H. Thomas. (*History*, July).

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Martyrologies and Available Lives of the Saints. By Rt. Rev. F. G. Holweck. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, June).

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Mass-Production, The Vicious Circle of. By The Editor. (*Hibbert Journal*, July).

Middle Ages, Renascence and a Saint. By Geo. O'Neill. (*Studies*, June).

Missions, La Géographie des. Par A. Brou. (*Revue D'Histoire Des Missions*, June).

Missions, La Place des, dans l'Histoire. Par Georges Goyay. (*Revue D'Histoire Des Missions*, June).

Modern Science, The Evolutionary Hypothesis in the Light of. By Floyd E. Hamilton. (*Princeton Theological Review*, July).

Molière and His Religion, A Note on. By Barbara Smythe. (*Blackfriars*, August).

Montessori Method, Is the, to be Introduced into Our Schools. By T. Corcoran, S.J. (*Irish Monthly*, July).

Music, Monks and Moderns. By William J. Finn, C.S.P. (*Catholic World*, August).

Negro, The, in South Carolina During the Reconstruction. By A. A. Taylor. (*Journal of Negro History*, July).

Nineveh, The Fall of. By Oswald T. Allis. (*Princeton Theological Review*, July).

Old Testament, Historical Method in the Study of the. By Edouard Naville. (*Princeton Theological Review*, July).

Papers, The Finlay. By William Miller, LL.D. (*English Historical Review*, July).

Phebotomy or Bloodletting in Ancient Monasteries. By Rev. Charles Augustine, O.S.B. (*Fortnightly Review*, July 15).

Pilgrimages in Olden Times. By Ellis Schreiber. (*Ave Maria*, July 26).

Pirates, The Cornish and Welsh in the Reign of Elizabeth. By David Mathew. (*English Historical Review*, July).

"Plenus Comitatus." By William A. Morris. (*English Historical Review*, July).

Politics and Peculation. By Sir C. Alexander Harris, K.C. M.G., etc. (*Edinburgh Review*, July).

Pontoise, Our Lady of. By Darley Dale. (*Ave Maria*, July 12).

Praying Tree, The. By Sister Mary Benvenuta, O.P. (*Blackfriars*, July).

Queen Elizabeth and The Mass. By H. E. G. Rope, M.A. (*Catholic World*, August).

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Saint Cyrille de Jérusalem. La position de, dans les luttes provoquées par l'arianisme (à suivre). Par J. Lebon. (*Revue D'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, April).

St. Edmund's, Paris, The Foundation of. By Dom Stephen Marron, D.D. (*Douai Magazine*, July).

St. Patrick, Dramatising. By Charles Phillips. (*The Ecclesiastical Review*, June).

St. Patrick, The Fifteenth Centenary of. By Eoin MacNeill. (*Studies*, June).

St. Peter's at Rome, Some Memories. By Mary Bateman. (*Magnificat*, July).

St. Thomas Aquinas, Human Aspect of. By Austin O'Mallew, M.D. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, June).

St. Thomas, Twenty-four Theses of. By Rev. Benis Fahey, C.S.Sp., D.D., Ph.D. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June).

Santa Fé and The South West. By Brian P. O'Seasnain. (*Catholic World*, July).

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Sisters of Mercy in the New England States, the work of the. By Sister Mary Eulalia Herron. (*Records of American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, March).

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Spiritism, Doctors and Investigations of. By George Barnard. (*Catholic Medical Guardian*, July).

Stirling-Reed Bill: A Criticism. By Rev. James H. Ryan, D.D. (*Catholic Educational Review*, June).

Strafford in Ireland. By Lady Burchclere. (*Quarterly Review*, July).

Surgery, Evolution of. By William J. Doolin. (*Studies*, June).

Thought-Transference and Soul-Speech. By E. Boyd-Barrett. (*The Month*, July).

Torquemada and Sabatini. Bede Jarrett, O.P. (*Blackfriars*, July).

Training, The Present Status of the Theory of Transfer of. By Brother Alphonsus, F.S.C. (*Catholic Educational Review*, June).

Twentieth Century Medievalism. By The Editor. (*Fortnightly Review*, August 1).

United States, Spiritual Conditions in. By S. K. Ratcliffe. (*Hibbert Journal*, July).

Vätern und in der Frühscholastik, I Cor. 3, 10-17. bei den lateinischen. By A. Landgraf. (*Biblica*, June).

Vaticinios Profeticos, el cumplimiento de los. By Murillo. (*Biblica*, June).

Versausgange, an falsche Stelle verschriebene. By F. Zorell. (*Biblica*, June).

Vulgate, Dom Quentin's Memoir on the Text of the. By Edward Kennard Rand. (*Harvard Theological Review*, July).

Will France Go Anti-Clerical Again? By Denis Gwynn. (*Blackfriars*, July).

NOTES AND COMMENT

An Important Discovery.— The British Museum recently has come into possession of a hitherto unknown map of the world which is shown to have been published in 1506. It is the earliest known printed map picturing the discoveries of Columbus and his immediate successors. The map is based upon the Ptolemaic scheme, representing the world's surface by a circle with the centre at the North Pole, and to the 180 degrees of Ptolemy has been added another 180 degrees, completing the circle and including the new discoveries in the *Mundus Novus*, or New World. The designer appears to have been Contarini, about whom little is known, and the publisher, Roselli, the well-known Florentine engraver.

One of the many problems which the map will play an important rôle in solving is the claim of the discovery of the western mainland asserted to have been made, but often denied, by Vespucci in 1497. If this discovery actually had been made at that time it is curious that the designer, who, like Vespucci, was a Florentine, makes no mention of it.

Another revelation which may settle a long-standing dispute is a legend engraved off the coast of Southeast Asia, which begins, "Christophorus Columbus Vicerex Hispanie occidente versus navigans post multos laboros et pericula pervenit ad insulas Hispanas dein, illinc solvens navigavit ad provincia apellata Colamba" * * * which shows that Columbus, after having reached the West Indies with great difficulty and peril, then succeeded in reaching Colamba, an old kingdom touching Cochin China. Until all the inscriptions on the drawings of Europe, Asia, and Africa have been read and translated, it is evident that the popular interest in the map will be identified with the portion on which the discoveries in the New World have been recorded, and the lands reached by navigators outlined. It also is quite evident that even the imagination of Contarini failed to grasp the possibility of any continuous barrier of land interjecting itself between the Atlantic Islands and China, although he is fully aware that the explorations in Brazil, far as they had gone, seemed to indicate a vast continent lying to the southwest. On this point Edward Heawood, Librarian, R. G. S., writes in *The Geographical Journal* of London:

The omission of any land west of Cuba is remarkable in a map probably printed at Florence, the city of Vespucci, whose voyages were first described in the letter sent thither to his compatriot Soderini in 1505 or 1506, as is supposed. For many have taken the land shown by Cantino and Canerio to represent Vespucci's discoveries in the extensive voyage which he claimed to have made on the coasts of North America in 1497-8. Those who doubt the authenticity of the voyage may be confirmed in their skepticism by the absence of any such land from a map made in 1506, for which a Florentine was in part responsible. Even if the date assigned to the printing of Vespucci's letter be too early, we should have certainly

expected the general results of his voyages to have been known in Florence in 1506.

Another point to be noted is that the only name applied to South America by Contarini is "Terra S. Crucis," the name first given to northeastern Brazil after its discovery by Cabral (which discovery is recorded on the map in a legend of which the conclusion is unfortunately lost). Both Ruysch and one of the smaller Roselli maps add the alternative "Mundus Novus," the term specially applied to the western continent by Vespucci himself. Both these omissions appear to indicate that one of the earliest type of charts of the West Indies was in the main followed by Contarini.

The American nomenclature is almost confined to the West Indies and the coast of South America immediately to the south, traced by Columbus and his immediate successors. The omission of all precise detail for the coast further east and south is singular, as the results of Vespucci's "third" voyage in 1501 were already set forth in the Cantino, Canerio and other charts. * * *

The use of "Terra de Cuba" in place of "Isabella" is unusual in the early Portuguese charts, but occurs in the specimen known to students as "Kunstmann No. 2" (apparently drawn by an Italian copyist), which Harrisse thought to represent the earliest type in this group. Another link with this is the insertion in the form La Dominga of the Island of Dominica (afterward shown also by Ruysch). * * The Bocha del Drago, the name given by Columbus in 1498 to the northern pass between Trinidad and the mainland, is already to be found in La Cosa, and is repeated in the Cantino chart. We miss the name Paria, heard by Columbus as that of the mainland tract opposite Trinidad, but in the legend describing the productions of the country to the west we find mention of the pearls ("Margaritas") seen by the Genoese during his third voyage, which proved so strong a lure to his rivals in discovery.

In the north of the American portion of the map the outlines have evidently been copied from earlier drawings, although the nomenclature is entirely original, for, although the usual location of Portuguese discovery is noted, there are two terms which are to be found, as far as is known, on no earlier existing map. These are "Terra de Caramella" and "Rio de Rosas." The former probably named because the icebergs round about reminded the navigator of a famous Portuguese dish of the time made of bits of sugarcane covered with honey and stuck upright on a plate, and the latter because of the contrasts found in a neighboring river. "Rio de Rosas," however, although said to have been used in a chart made in either 1504 or 1505, is known on no later map—another reason, besides the inscription "1506 notum," for believing that the map acquired by the British Museum first saw light in the very year in which Columbus died, without realizing either the then limitations or the future vastness of his discoveries.

"The Christ of the Andes."— The story of this extraordinary monument is thus told by Bishop Welldon in the *Manchester Guardian*:

The statue alike in its origin, its character, and its significance has for many years made a strong appeal to my sympathy.

There had been a long-standing dispute as to the line of boundary between Chile and Argentina, as there is now between Chile and Peru. At last they agreed, by a convention which was signed on April 17, 1896, that they would refer the dispute to the arbitration of Queen Victoria. It was not until after her death that the tribunal which had been appointed to advise her was able to publish its report. The award therefore was pronounced by King Edward the Seventh on November 25, 1902. It was unreservedly accepted in both countries, and it was followed by a general agreement which provided that the Governments of Chile and Argentina should renounce the building of ships of war and reduce their existing naval armaments. The line of boundary between them was determined by a commission under the presidency of the British Commissioner, Sir Thomas Holdich. It was in memory of King Edward the Seventh's arbitration and of its acceptance by the two Republics which had solicited it that the statue of Christ upon the Andes was erected. The statue, says Lord Bryce in his book upon South America, is "a bronze statue of more than twice life size, standing on a stone pedestal, rough-hewn from the natural rock of the mountain." It was the work of an Argentine sculptor, Señor Mateo Alonso. It was cast in the arsenal at Buenos Aires from bronze cannon which had long been kept there in a fortress near the city. It occupies a site on a wind-swept plateau near the summit of the Cumbre Pass, which was the only means of crossing the Andes until the Transandine Railway was built. The statue stands at a height of 12,796 feet above the sea level, a solitary object, with the eternal snows of the Andes rising as a background behind it. It is a figure of Christ lifting his right hand in benediction, and in his left hand holding a cross.

The idea of the statue originated, I believe, in a sermon preached one Easter Day by Monsignor Benavente, the Bishop of Cuyo, in Argentina. It was warmly supported by Monsignor Jara, the Bishop of Anond, in Chile. The cost of the statue was defrayed by public subscription in both countries. When at last the statue had been executed, it was conveyed by train as far as the railway had then been laid, then drawn for some distance on carriages by mules as far as they could go, and finally, when even the mules failed, dragged by soldiers and sailors with ropes to the site on which it now stands. It was dedicated by a religious service as well as by a public function on March 13, 1904, in the presence of a crowd of soldiers and civilians gathered from both sides of the Andes, and I have read that at the dedication the Argentine soldiers encamped on the Chilian and the Chilian on the Argentine side of the pass.

The ascent to the Christus of the Andes is fatiguing but deeply interesting. Starting from the hotel at Puente del Inca, I found that I spent just five hours in reaching the statue, and nearly the same time in coming back from it. I was in the saddle during eight of the ten hours. The

remaining two hours were occupied in a drive to and from the point at which it is necessary to mount the mules, in walking to and about the plateau on which the statue is erected, and in taking luncheon at a small hostlery. In consequence of the dry winds and the rarefied atmosphere it was difficult to stay long at the foot of the statue, but there was no other difficulty worth speaking of except the desire of the muleteer who acted as guide to shorten the ascent and—what is more serious—the descent also by leaving the main road, which has come to be deserted since the opening of the railway, and take short cuts, which seemed to me to put an undue strain upon the mules, wonderfully sure-footed as they are. Yet I do not think any one of the four mules upon which my party rode made a slip or a false step during the whole day.

A Worthy Project.— In 1932 the fifteenth centenary of the mission of St. Patrick to Ireland will take place. Already suggestions are being made as to a fitting form of commemoration.

The idea put forward is that out of the centenary and out of the action of the united Irish people in Ireland and abroad, some thing or some number of things that will be permanent and noble, fitting the occasion, reverent of the past yet fruitful for the future, ought to arise.

Religious celebrations will naturally take first place. There will also be secular celebrations and assemblages. As a permanent commemoration of the historic event, it is proposed that there should be instituted a Library of the *Monumenta Hiberniae*, in the form of a continuous series of uniform volumes, to be published under the direction of a corporate body of competent scholars with a suitable endowment to be administered under the terms of a permanent, definite trust.

The backbone of the collection would be the Epistle and the Confession of St. Patrick, the first historical documents known to have been written in Ireland. It is felt that the history of the Irish nation has, so far, been but imperfectly related. The wealth of material available, not only in Ireland itself, but in many continental countries, has been only to a comparatively slight extent explored. Annals, genealogies, poetry concerned with persons and affairs of the times, and works on ecclesiastical institutions exist in abundance.

The sources yet untouched afford a field for investigation and research extending over many years.

The material, when digested, will throw light on every phase of Irish history—social, religious and political. Private enterprise in scholarship and elaborate research work are now impossible. In order to promote such investigations, a corporate effort aided by a public fund is needed.

In this way, the projected *Monumenta Hiberniae* can be produced. Among those who are enthusiastic supporters of the project are the Rev. Professor Paul Walsh, M.A., Daniel A. Binchy, M.A., Ph.D., the Rev. Brendon Jennings, O.F.M., Dom Louis Gougaud, O.S.D., Professor Thomas F. O'Rahilly, M.A., and Dr. Sigerson, of universal celebrity. The estab-

lishment of a board of directors for the purpose of framing an actual plan of operations is in contemplation.

An Interesting Publication.— Recent theorizing following the assertion that "white Indians" had been discovered in Panama lends a peculiar interest to a new book *Amerika und Das Urchristentum*, just published in Leipzig and written by a Catholic priest, the archaeologist, Prof. Maria Kaufmann. This volume, which deals with the origin of the early inhabitants of America, in view of the renewed interest in the subject of who first colonized the Western World, has evoked wide comment here.

Regardless of whether the "white Indians" are really a new race or not, since the "white Indian" discovery claim was made, one contention was advanced that before the time of Columbus, Irishmen colonized the whole American coast from New Scotland to Florida, calling it "Great Ireland" and that the "white Indians" were the descendants of these early adventurers. Another theory, based on the forms of architecture found in some places in America, held that emigrants from Egypt colonized parts of America and that the "white Indians" were their descendants.

Father Kaufmann tends to the belief that the pyramids in the empires of the Incas and Mayas in America indicate an early civilization derived from Assyria or Egypt. He points to the cult of the dead in Peru, the mummies with their ribbon windings and masks, and the special burial forms. The obelisks of the Incas, with their symbolic ornaments, and other forms of architecture Father Kaufmann sees as reminders of Egypt, and in the cuneiform inscriptions, especially in ceramic, he sees traces of Assyria and India.

The greatest difficulty, however, found by this writer is the definite indication of Christianity in the early civilization of the New World. He contents himself with showing copious indications of the presence of Christianity or memoirs of it, without attempting to explain how it came to America.

Dr. Kaufmann points especially to the numerous cross monuments as proof of Christian transmission of the civilization and traditions of these early peoples. In Peru he sees definitely a memory in the minds of the early peoples of a time when their forebears knew Christianity. Besides the cross, he calls attention to the dove and the fish, and the form of a praying man as it is found in the catacombs—all symbols of Christianity.

From these data Dr. Kaufmann expresses the belief that Christianity came first to Central and South America about the Fifth or Sixth Century, starting in Peru and among the Mayas, then spreading to Ecuador, Bolivia and Colombia.

Legends and traditions of the Incas also are taken as proofs of the presence of Christianity. There was a tradition, he says, that the god Huirakocha came to Peru from overseas, and in Mexico the "white Messias" was desired and expected to such an extent that the Spaniards at first were regarded as messengers of the Messias. Dr. Kaufmann is to

continue his studies of the derivation of these early indications of Christianity in America.

A Pan-American Pedagogical Congress.—A coming event of more than passing significance for Catholic educators is the Pan-American Pedagogical Congress scheduled to take place in Santiago, Chile, the second week in September, 1925. The Santiago Congress, which marks the first opportunity which the leading educators of North and South America have had of coming together, was authorized by a resolution of the Fifth Pan-American Congress held in Santiago last year. Its leaders realized that the full measure of understanding and co-operation between the great republics of North and South America could never be obtained if pursued solely along political and economic lines. Educational co-operation has long been acknowledged as a necessary link in the chain of mutual understanding which should bind together in peace and harmony the peoples of the two hemispheres. For this reason the Government of Chile was authorized to proceed to the organization of an International Education Congress.

The importance of the coming Congress is evident from the preparations which have been made to insure its success. The Government of Chile has appointed an organization committee made up of the leading educators of that country. All phases of education have representatives on this body. Among others are Dr. Gregorio Amunàtegui, Rector of the University of Chile and President of the Organizing Commission; the Right Reverend Càrlos Casanueva, Rector of the Catholic University; Dr. Luis Barros Borgoño, Dean of the College of Fine Arts; Dr. Juan N. Espejo, Rector of the National Institute; Don Pedro Aguirre Cerda, President of the National Teachers' Society. Many others of the elite of the intellectual life of the Republic are also represented. Dr. Guillermo Labarca Hubertson has been appointed General Secretary of the Organizing Commission.

The agenda of the Congress is still in a formative state. Suggestions and criticisms are desired, and the Commission will not proceed to a definitive program until educators, both in South and North America, have been heard from. It is important, therefore, that those who possess leadership in Catholic education give the tentative program their serious consideration, and forward to the Secretary General of the Commission any suggestions or changes which they may consider necessary. As outlined, the preliminary program deals with six main headings. The following topics have been presented: (1) Organization and administration of education; (2) curricula, methods, and tests; (3) teaching and administrative staffs; (4) hygiene; (5) school construction; (6) social relations of the school.

The College of Cardinals.—The Bishop of Oklahoma, Rt. Rev. Francis C. Kelley, in a recent eloquent and scholarly address pointed out some of

the notable contributions that the members of this august body have made in the course of centuries.

The Sacred College, he reminded his hearers, gave to Italy and the world, Gaetani, called "the greatest jurist of his age." De Medici, the patron of the world's first artists in painting, sculpture, and architecture, Baronius, the father of ecclesiastical history, Lambertini, who afterwards became Pope Benedict XIV, and was called, "the greatest scholar among the Popes," Cardinal Bonaventura and Cardinal Charles Borromeo who were men of profound learning raised to the altars as canonized saints, Cardinal Mezzofanti, the greatest linguist the world has seen, who spoke and wrote perfectly in thirty-eight languages, and could use thirty more as well as fifty dialects.

David Cardinal Beaton was one of Scotland's greatest statesmen and scholars. Nicholas Cardinal Cusa in Germany with his astronomical researches forecast the discoveries of Copernicus and Galileo, and gave medicine its first plan for accurate diagnosis. Armand Cardinal Richelieu, the soldier statesman of France saved his country when she had dire need of a savior. Cardinal Haynald of Hungary was a great botanist, whose treasures to-day are in the Hungarian National Museum. Cardinal Ximenes in Spain was the author of the first Polygot Bible. Cardinal Stephen Langton in England wrung from the reluctant hands of the Barons at Runnymede the Magna Charta, upon which the constitutions of modern states are founded and the rights of people for representative government are guaranteed. And Cardinal Ballarmine's contribution to Democracy is attested by the principles enunciated by him, which were incorporated by Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence.

Coming down to modern times in our own America, the prestige of the Sacred College has been heightened and its dignity enhanced by the contributions of our own American Cardinals. As Monsignor Kelley eloquently said: "The first bishop who labored on our soil to be created Cardinal, John Cheverus, had twenty-seven years of work for God and country in America to his credit. The second President of the United States, John Adams, headed the list of non-Catholic contributors to the first church that saintly ecclesiastic built in Boston. History speaks eloquently of the learning, the devotion, and the sanctity of Cardinal Cheverus. His memory clings like sweet incense around the Church in New England.

John McCloskey, the first to be created Cardinal, while occupying an American See, was a God-sent administrator in times that tried men's souls, but he was also the builder of what is still our most monumental American cathedral, St. Patrick's in New York. James Cardinal Gibbons gave us our best apologetic book, now translated into many tongues, and used all over the world.

The addresses and sermons of William Cardinal O'Connell are fine cut cameos of eloquence, expected of one who is a cultured musician, composer and writer. To him history must assign the inspiration that gave Japan its first Catholic University.

These are but a few facts culled from history that prove the sublime and time honored place that the Sacred College of Cardinals holds in the minds of men. There is no greater honor or loftier dignity in the world, with the exception of the Papacy, than the Cardinalate.

We should remember this, and, when men with little minds and distorted vision assail the Church as the enemy of progress and the retarder of civilization, point with confidence and pride to what the Sacred College has done and is doing for the cause of learning and civilizaton as well as of religion and piety. The Cardinalate is a standing refutation of such calumnies, and a visible sign of the truth of Christ's prophecy, "Behold I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world."

The Roman Institute.— In connection with the centenary celebration of the Gregorian University, attention has been directed to a new and important work which has been undertaken as part of the magnificent propaganda of religious culture carried on in this distinguished institution under the direction of Fathers of the Society of Jesus. An American Jesuit, Rev. John J. O'Rorke, is head of the new Institute which besides its International University of theological and philosophical courses, has now opened a public course of Religious Apologetics. This course is frequented by a great throng of interested persons. Although the library of the Roman College has been transformed into the Victor Emmanuel Library, the Jesuit Fathers have placed the new library under the protection of the Blessed Robert Bellarmine.

Both large and small rooms on the middle floor have for many years sheltered in modest book-cases the books which have been accumulating, precious works used by the distinguished professors of the University in following their studies, especially sacred studies.

Recently the department devoted to Archaeology was enriched by the precious library of Fr. Felix Grossi Gondi, in which many most rare and important books pertaining to Sacred Archaeology were preserved.

The same Father, having held the office of librarian for many years, had cared with special predilection for the works of bibliography, thus enriching the accumulation of ancient and modern works which would be of greatest use to professors and students.

The completion of such a great enterprise called for a large Reference Hall with the cataloguing system for special books of rare and valuable nature.

The new department was opened about four months ago, and although it does not answer the needs of students of ecclesiastical matters perfectly, yet in modern works of consultation pertaining to theology and philosophy, it holds first rank.

The hall is very large, and contains a great number of shelves and book cases presenting a vast collection of dictionaries, encyclopedias in the modern tongues, church histories, works of bibliography, etc.

The department which contains works relating to the Society of Jesus

embraces books on the Institution, its History, Polemics, Missions, Saints, Blessed, Biography, etc. all relating directly to the Society.

The librarian Fr. Dellatre, is anxious to bring this great work to perfection, especially those departments which embrace Social Sciences and Missionology, both of which are especially interesting to modern students.

Library in Memory of Dr. John Talbot Smith.—As a memorial to the late Dr. John Talbot Smith a new library building is to be erected on the grounds of the Catholic Summer School of America, at Cliff Haven, N. Y. In a pamphlet on this priest-author Fr. John Cavanaugh, former President of Notre Dame University, says:

> Concealed John Talbot Smith could never be, for within him in constant eruption were the volcanic energies as well as the volcanic fires that made him luminously active. He soon became *the* Smith. While still a young seminarian, at an age when most levites are in the throes of labor over their first raw, green sermonette for the college chapel, the young Titan had already fashioned a gripping and thunderous novel. The *Catholic World*, the historic *alma mater* of our Catholic writers, was publishing *A Woman of Culture*, and asking for more; and from that day books appeared at frequent intervals, till at his death the list was long, distinguished and varied. It included some first-rate histories and biographies, some first-rate novels and juveniles, some first-rate essays and sermons. Of all his work, the characteristic notes, from the viewpoint of literary art, were power and distinction.

The Lingard Society.— The following schedule of lectures is announced by the Lingard Society, England, for 1924-25:

October 20 ..... "John Lingard"
By the Rev. John Fletcher, Fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine.

November 10 ..... "The Pilgrimage of Grace"
By R. C. Wilton, Esq., M.A.

December 8 "The Diplomatic Relations of Portugal and England from 1640 to 1688"
By Edgar Prestage, Esq., M.A., Camoes Professor in the University of London.

January 12 ..... "Witchcraft in England"
By Miss Letitia Fairfield, M.D., C.B.E.

February 9 ..... "The Early English Benedictines"
By Dom Dunstan Pontifex, M.A., O.S.B.

March 9 ..... "St. Philip Neri and the Counter-Reformation"
By the Rev. Ralph Kerr, M.A., of the London Oratory.

April 13 ..... "The Cardinal of Lorraine"
By H. O. Evennett, Esq., B.A.

The meetings are held at 6.30 P. M., at 22, Russell Square, W.C., in the lecture room of the Royal Historical Society (by kind permission of the President and Council).

The Catholic Church and Printing. —What the printing industry owes to the fostering influence of the Catholic Church is indicated by the old ecclesiastical terminology still used by the craft, says the *Catholic Register* of Toronto.

Printing was developed by the Church in her monasteries, scriptoriums and universities. The first printing-press in England was set up by Caxton and the Benedictine monks in Westminster Abbey. Caxton still remains an honoured term in the craft to denote superexcellence in printing.

As a result of being fostered in the abbeys and monasteries, it is curious to observe the churchly and Latin terms that still survive on the lips of printers. The composing-room is still called the "chapel"—the first composing-rooms were monastic chapels.

The foreman of the chapel is "the Father." There are "aisles" or runways in the chapels.

A case of type or a particular style of type is a "font," because the old holy water fonts were convenient receptacles for the wooden blocks which formed the letters.

"Brevier" type was originally reserved for setting up breviaries. "Copy" of old was, and among old-fashioned writers yet is, "manuscript"—most of the ancient terms were in Latin. The printer was the "compositor" or the man who placed the types together. Laying out type in orderly arrangement is still "imposition."

The "hell" box—or "hell"—is the receptacle for bad type. The old 'prentice boy who raised general hob around the premises, was happily dubbed "the devil."

In proof-reading we have such Latin terms as "caret," "dele," "asterisk." A slug or square of metal is a "quad"—it is "quadratus," or four-sided.

In book-binding we have "folio" (folium), "quarto," "octavo," "duodecimo," etc., to designate the different foldings of the original sheet of vellum or paper. Latin came naturally to the lips of the monks; hence their terminology survives to the present in the art preservative as a curious but interesting reminder of how much the world owes to the Church in scholarship as in other things.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Mention here does not preclude extended notice in later issues of the REVIEW).

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